

A
SIMPLIFIED GRAMMAR
OF THE
PALI LANGUAGE.

BY
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LONDON :
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.

1884.

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TRÜBNER'S COLLECTION
OF
SIMPLIFIED GRAMMARS
OF THE PRINCIPAL
ASIATIC AND EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

EDITED BY
REINHOLD ROST, LL.D., PH.D.

XII.
P A L I.
BY EDWARD MÜLLER, PH.D.

TO

REINHOLD ROST, LL.D., PH.D.

THESE PAGES ARE INSCRIBED

AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE GRATITUDE AND FRIENDSHIP.

CORRIGENDA.

- P. 24, line 10 from top : *Vegha* is, as Dr. Morris tells me, a mistake for *vekha* = *veshka*, 'leathern strap.'
- P. 25, line 3 from bottom : A verb *ussati* does not exist. The correct reading is *ñassati*.
- P. 112, line 5 from top : The ending *ā* belongs to the third person plural.

PREFACE.



IN sending the present essay of a Pâli Grammar to the press, I feel bound to say a few words of explanation as to the plan I have followed. First of all, I must state that it was not my intention to give a complete Grammar of the Pâli Language, as this can only be done when all the principal books of the Buddhist Canon will have been published; nor was it my intention to write a Comparative Grammar of Indian vernaculars, as for this purpose the space granted to me would have been too small. I only intended to help the students of Buddhistical literature, by collecting the idiomatical peculiarities of the sacred language, comparing it chiefly to Sanskrit, and in a few cases also to the other Indian vernaculars. As the publication of Pâli texts has taken so wide dimensions during the last ten years, I thought it would not be out of place to consider and work out the new materials that have come into our possession through these books, mostly unknown to Childers and the others who made Pâli Grammar an object of their studies. Even E. Kuhn, whose "Beiträge zur Pâli Grammatik" have been of great help to me, and whose plan I followed almost throughout my book, only

worked from a comparatively small number of texts, and just the oldest and most interesting, like Vinaya and Jâtaka, were all but unknown to him.

It would be rather out of place in an elementary Grammar to enter into a long discussion about the age and origin of the Pâli language. A few words on the subject will be sufficient: Kuhn, following Westergaard, holds Pâli to be the vernacular of Ujjein, the capital of Mâlava at the time when Mahinda, the son of Asoka, took the sacred Canon with him to Ceylon (*Beiträge*, p. 7). On the other hand, Oldenberg, rejecting that tradition, considers Pâli to be the original language of the Kâlinga country (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. liv). He compares the language of the large inscription at Khandagiri (*Cunningham*, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, i. 98), and finds only very little difference between this and the Pâli. From this he concludes that there must have been, about a hundred and fifty years before Mahinda, a frequent intercourse between Kalinga and the island; in fact, that the religion, together with its language, was brought over from there to Ceylon. I had myself formed a similar idea, independently from Oldenberg, by a careful examination of the first settlements of the Gangetic tribes in Ceylon (see my Report II. to the Government of Ceylon, reprinted *Ind. Ant.* IX. 9); and, recently, Mr. Nevill, in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, has pointed out that the ancient civilized and populous district of Ceylon, the so-

called Kalāwa, is not to be looked for at the south coast near Galle, as most people believe, but in the north-western district of the island, which is now almost a desert. We therefore all agree that the Aryan immigrants did not come by sea from Bengal, in which case they would have landed somewhere at the east or south coast, but that they crossed over from some port in Southern India; and, under these circumstances, it is not at all unlikely that the point from which they started may have been the kingdom of Kālinga. To the person of Mahinda we need not attach much importance from a chronological point of view, perhaps not more than to the person of Vijaya, the first Gangetic immigrant in Ceylon according to tradition.

About the age of the Pāli language it is even more difficult to form a certain opinion than about its native country. The late R. C. Childers, in the Preface to his Dictionary, p. ix., attributed a very high antiquity to it, with especial reference to an inscription on the Sthûpa of Bharhut, which contains a quotation from Cullavagga, vi. 4. This argument, however, is not conclusive, as already P. Goldschmidt pointed out in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1879. It was generally expected that we would get some help from the Ceylon inscriptions for fixing the age of the Pāli language, but unfortunately this expectation has not been fulfilled, as all those inscriptions from which we might derive an argument are not sufficiently dated. Real Pāli inscriptions

have not been found in Ceylon—not more than in Cambodia. Those that approach nearest are almost identical in their language with the above mentioned Khandagiri inscription. There is, for instance, the one at Kirinde (No. 57 of my Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon), which, for palæographical reasons, I have assigned to the first or second century A.D., about the time when, according to tradition, the doctrines of Buddhism were first reduced to writing in Pâli. The language of this inscription agrees in many points with Pâli, but it is too short, and the date is too uncertain that I could follow Goldschmidt, who felt inclined to make use of it for fixing the age of the sacred language. Neither can I agree with Kern, who holds Pâli to be an artificial language altogether. It is certain that some considerable time must have elapsed before the Pâli recension of the Canon was completed, and that through the contiguity of cognate vernaculars, like the Mâgadhî, a number of words and forms found their way into Pâli which originally did not belong to it: in this way the so-called Mâgadhisms, which Kern induces to prove the artificial character of the language, are easily explained. In spite of these, Pâli conserved a certain purity during the whole middle age, and even late texts like the Dâthâvamsa and Attanagaluvamsa (thirteenth century), although they introduce a large number of compounds after the Sam̐sritic fashion, are comparatively free from dialectic peculiarities. Not before the time when the second part of the Mahâ-

vam̐sa was composed we find a wholesale import of Sinhaleisms into the language, scarcely disguised by Pāli terminations, as, *e.g.*, mahālāno, 'Chief Secretary,' translated back from the Sinhalese mahālaenan.

I have only occasionally attempted in this book to distinguish between the different periods of the language. When the student will have overcome the first difficulties, he will find all the necessary information on this subject in Fausböll's Introduction to "Ten Jātakas" and Trenckner's "Pāli Miscellany." I may say here so much, that on the whole the forms of the Sinhalese MSS. are older and more genuine, while the Burmese often replace them by more modern, more common, or more regular ones. I reserve for another occasion the interesting task to prove this by comparing a certain number of MSS., especially of grammatical texts.

Another part of the Grammar, which is totally wanting in my essay, is the Syntax; but here I hope that the classical languages, with which no doubt nearly all my readers are acquainted, will fill up the gap. Sanskrit, so to say, has no Syntax at all, but expresses all the relations in a sentence merely by compounds. This way, however, was given up at an early date by the Indian vernaculars, and a form of construction was introduced which bears a close resemblance to the Syntax of the classical languages. Under these circumstances, I have thought it best, as I had no space to give a complete Syntax to add at the end

the Grammar a short Jâtaka, with an analysis that might help the student to understand the Pâli construction.

The texts I principally took my examples from are the historical books Dîpavaṃsa and first part of the Mahâvaṃsa, for which I compared the new edition published by Sumangala and Baṭuwantudâwa in 1880; besides the Vinaya, the three published volumes of the Jâtaka, the Milindapanha, and the first year's publications of the Pâli Text Society, including Anguttara Nikâya, Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyâpîṭaka. The second year's publications reached me when the book was already in the press, but I availed myself of the opportunity to mention some particularly interesting forms from Thera- and Therîgâthâ and Khuddasikkhâ. Of Fausböll's Sutta Nipâta I could use for the Grammar only the stanzas given in the foot-notes of his translation ("Sacred Books," vol. xiii): the edition of the text came into my hands when I had very nearly done.

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CARDIFF, *June*, 1884.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

The abbreviations are the same as in Childers' Dictionary, and besides the following new ones :—

- Ang. = Anguttara Nikâya ed. Morris.
 Ass. S. = Assalâyanasutta ed. Pischel.
 Beitr. = Beiträge zur vergleichenden sprachforschung
 herausgeg. von Bezzenberger.
 Bv. = Buddhavaṃsa ed. Morris.
 C. = Cullavagga ed. Oldenberg.
 Cariy. = Cariyâpiṭaka ed. Morris.
 Dâṭh. = Dâṭhavaṃsa ed. Cumâra Swâmi.
 Dh. = Dhâtumañjûsâ ed. Baṭuwantudâwe.
 Dîp. = Dîpavaṃsa ed. Oldenberg.
 Gr. = Sept Suttas Pâlis ed. Grimblot.
 Hem. = Hemacandra ed. Pischel.
 It. = Itivuttaka.
 I. O. C. = India Office Catalogue.
 K. Z. = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprach-
 forschung.
 M. = Mahâvagga ed. Oldenberg.
 M. N. = Majjhima Nikâya.
 Naigh. = Naighaṇṭuka.
 P. M. = Pâli Miscellany, by Trenckner.
 Pâiyal. = Pâiyalacchî ed. Bühler.
 Rûp. = Das sechste Kapitel der Rûpasiddhi heraus-
 gegeben von Grüwedel.
 Saddhammop. = Saddhammopâyana ed. Baṭuwantudâwe.

S. N. = Sutta Nipâta ed. Fausböll.

**Samanta Pâs. or S. P. = Introduction to the Samanta Pâsâdikâ
in the third vol. of Oldenberg's Vinaya.**

Suttavibh. = Suttavibhanga ed. Oldenberg.

**Vinaya Texts = Vols. xiii. and xvii. of Max Müller's Sacred
Books.**

PÂLI GRAMMAR.

§ 1. The Alphabet.

THERE are three Alphabets in which Pâli manuscripts are written—the Sinhalese, the Burmese and the Kambodian. They all are derived from the Açoka Alphabet used in the ancient inscriptions of India, but represent a more current and an easier style of writing. The Devânagarî Alphabet, which was used by Spiegel in editing his *Anecdota Pâlica*, is never found in Pâli manuscripts. We shall, however, for the convenience of those who have studied Saṃskṛit, in the following table give the Devânagarî letters corresponding to the Sinhalese characters. Since Fausböll's edition of the *Dhammapada*, published in 1855, nearly all editors of Pâli books in Europe have made use of the Roman character, as being easier to learn and less tiring to the eye. Unfortunately, a uniform way of transcription has not yet been arrived at in Pâli, any more than in Saṃskṛit; but the method followed by Fausböll and Childers is now almost generally adopted, and shall also be used in this book.

I. VOWELS.

a = अ. â = आ. i = इ. î = ई. u = उ. û = ऊ.
e = ए. o = ओ.

II. CONSONANTS.

1. *Gutturals*.—k = क. kh = ख. g = ग. gh = घ.
ñ = ङ.
2. *Palatals*.—c = च. ch = छ. j = ज. jh = झ.
ñ = ञ.
3. *Cerebrals*.—t = ट. th = ठ. d = ड. dh = ढ.
n = ण.
4. *Dentals*.—t = त. th = थ. d = द. dh = ध.
n = न.
5. *Labials*.—p = प. ph = फ. b = ब. bh = भ.
m = म.
6. *Liquids*.—y = य. r = र. l = ल. v = व.
7. *Sibilants*.—s = स. h = ह. ḷ = ऌ (*Vedic*).

Besides, there is the niggahîta, corresponding to the Sanskrit anusvâra, and marked by a small circle in the middle of the line. It is always used at the end of words, and in the middle before a sibilant. Before another consonant the nasal of the corresponding class may be used instead.

§ 2. Pronunciation.

The Pronunciation is, on the whole, the same as in Sanskrit. The vowels *a*, *i*, *u* are short, the others are long : *e* and *o* are only long when they stand in an open syllable, viz., before a single consonant. When they stand before two consonants they are pronounced short, but are long *metri causâ*.

The aspirates are pronounced like the corresponding surds with the addition of an *h*. Therefore *th* does not correspond to the English *th*, but rather to the German in *Thun*, *That*. *Ch* has the same pronunciation as the simple *c* = English *ch* in child.

It is very difficult for a European to pronounce the cerebrals or linguals correctly. In India and Ceylon the natives almost constantly express our dentals by their cerebrals in words taken over from our language. It seems, therefore, that our dentals agree more with their linguals in pronunciation than with their dentals. I have, however, not been able to mark in the spoken language any difference between the pronunciation of the dentals and of the cerebrals.

The nasals are pronounced according to the class to which they belong. The guttural nasal never occurs alone, but is always followed by an explosive of its class; it sounds like English *ng* or *nk* respectively. The palatal nasal sometimes occurs doubled when an assimilation has taken place (*ññ*), and then it has the sound of the Spanish *ñ* in *doña*, or of the French *gn* in *campagne*. The dental nasal is exactly pronounced like *n*, and the labial like *m*.

The niggahîta, or nasal breathing at the end of the word, is pronounced in Ceylon almost with the same force as a guttural nasal = English *ng* in king. Before other consonants it is only a representative of the nasal of the corresponding class, and is pronounced accordingly.

Compound consonants are almost regularly assimilated in Pâli. We therefore do not require a table of the combinations of consonants similar to that which exists in the Devanâgarî Alphabet. The rules according to which the assimilation takes place will be given in a special chapter, and the few groups

of compound consonants that still exist in Pāli will be added as an appendix to the Table of Alphabets.

The pronunciation is the same as that of the single consonants.

§ 3. Vowels.

The vowels found in Pāli are the same as in Saṃskṛit, with the exception of the *r* and *l* vowels, and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*.

The *r* vowel is mostly represented in Pāli by one of the other vowels:—

(1) By *a* in *accha*=*ṛiksha*, *vijambhati*=*vijṛimbhati*, Jât. i. 12 ; *tasita* = *ṛishita*, Dâṭh. iii. 44 ; *maṭṭha* and *maṭṭa* = *mṛishṭa*, *gaha* = *griha*, *maccu* = *mṛityu*.

(2) By *i* in *ina* = *ṛiṇa*, 'debt;' *kisa* = *kṛiṣa*, 'lean;' *giddha* = *gridhra*, 'greedy;' *miga* = *mṛiga*, 'deer;' *bhisī* = *bṛiṣī*, 'mat;' *sigāla* = *ṣṛigāla*, 'jackal.'

(3) By *u* in *usabha* = *ṛishabha*, 'bull;' *puthu* = *pṛithu*, 'broad;' *pucchati* = *pṛicchati*, 'to ask;' *vutṭhi* = *vṛishṭi*, 'rain.'

(4) By the consonant *r* accompanied by the vowels *i* or *u*, in *iritvija* = *ṛitvij*, 'brahminical priest;' *rite* = *ṛite*, Kacc. 126 ; *iru* = *ṛic* in *irubbedā* = *ṛigveda*, *rukkha* = *vṛiksha*, *brūheti* = *bṛiṇhayati*; the latter root takes also sometimes the vowel *a*, as in *abbahati*, Dh. 96, and in the participle *brahā*.

(5) By *e* in *geha*, which is already found in Saṃskṛit.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* of the Saṃskṛit become *e* and *o* in Pāli, that is to say, they are reduced from the second degree of vowel strengthening called *vṛiddhi* in Saṃskṛit to the first called *guṇa*; this process is called *vuḍḍhi* by the Pāli grammarians. Examples are *Gotama* = *Gautama*, *Koṇḍañña* = *Kauṇḍinya*, *Erāvāṇa* = *Airāvāṇa*, *dvelhaka* = *dvaiddhaka*, *mettā* = *maittī*.

These diphthongs may, however, be further reduced to the simple vowels *i* and *u*, in the same way as it is done with the original *e* and *o*. We have *mitti* = *maitrî*, Jât. i. 468; *issariya* = *aiçvarya*, *ussukka* = *autsukya*, Dh. 268.

The rules laid down by the grammarians concerning the use of the *vuḍḍhi* and of the simple vowel are very lax. Kacc., p. 214, prescribes the *vuḍḍhi* before a single consonant, but at p. 219 he allows the forms with the simple vowel as well, e.g., *abhidharmika*, *vinatēyya*, *uḷumpika*.

There are also two instances where an *u* derived from an *r*-vowel (see above, no. 3) becomes *o* by *vuḍḍhi*, viz., *poṭhuj-janika*, 'belonging to an unconverted person,' derived from *poṭhujjana* = *prithagjana* and *modaṅgika*, 'one who beats the drum,' derived from *mutiṅga* = *mridaṅga*.

§ 4. Change of Vowels.

A short *a* of the Samskrit is subject to different changes in Pāli. It may become:—

(1) *e* in *ettha* = *atra*, 'there,' according to Childers, and S. Goldschmidt's *Prâkritica*, pp. 21—23. Kaccâyana, p. 110, derives it from *etatha* by shortening of the syllable *eta* into *e*; but Hemacandra, i. 57, has the right explanation. Similar forms are *ubhayettha* = *ubhayatra*, 'on both sides,' given in the commentary, Dh. p. 96, while the text at v. 15 has *ubhayattha*, *heṭṭhâ* and *heṭṭhato*, 'below' = *adha*stât; *pure*, 'before,' with its compositions *pureṣamāna*, 'the companion who precedes a bhikkhu'; *purebhattam*, 'before the morning meal'; *puretaram*, Dh. 84, 135; *antar* in *antepura* = *antaḥpura*, 'harem' (*antopuram*, Dh. 162, 291); *antovatthumhi*, Mah. 253; *antara-vatthumhi*, Jât. i. 232; *antorukkkhatâ*, Jât. i. 7; *pheggu* =

phalgu, 'empty.' In *seyyâ* = çayyâ, 'couch,' the change of *a* to *e* is effected by the following *y*, and the same has taken place in *peyyâla* = pariyâya, if the derivation given by Oldenberg, K. Z. xxv. p. 315, and Trenckner, Pâli Miscellany, p. 66, is correct.

(2) *a* becomes *i* in *tipu* = trapu, 'lead,' *kalimbhaka* = kaḍamba, 'point,' C. v. ii. 3; *pilâla* = palâla, 'straw,' Jât. i. 382; *timisa* = tamasa, 'darkness,' Mil. 283, and *timissâ* = tamisrâ, Jât. iii. 433; *nilicchita* = nirashṭa according to Trenckner, Pâli Misc. p. 55. A great many more examples might be adduced for this change, which is a very frequent one in Pâli.

(3) *a* becomes *u* principally through the influence of a labial, that may stand either before or after the vowel, or even at some distance from it. Examples are *sammuñjanî* and *sammujjanî*, Jât. i. 161 = sammârjanî, 'a broom;' *nibbusitattâ* = nirvasitâtma, Grimblot, Sept suttas Pâlis, 23; *nimujjati* = nimajj, 'to sink;' *puṭhujja* = prithagja, 'common,' Fausböll, Sutta Nipâta 171; *paṇṇuvīsati* = pañcarīsati, 'twenty-five,' Jât. iii. 138. There are, however, also examples of this change where there is no labial contact, e.g. *thunanti*, 'they sound,' from stan (the participle *nitthanamâna* occurs at Jât. i. 463, and *nitthananta* Jât. ii. 362); *bhrûnahu* = bhrûnahan, 'killing the embryo,' Fausb., S. N. 122; *ajjuka* = arjaka, 'the white parṇâsa;' *âgu* = âgas, 'sin;' *pajjunna* = parjanya, 'cloud;' *sajju* = sadyas, 'instantly;' *sajjulasa* = sarjarasa, 'resin,' M. vi. 7. In *usûyâ* = asûyâ, 'envy,' and in *kuṇṇkuṭṭha* = kankuṣṭha, 'a sort of earth,' the change is due to the assimilation of the vowels.

(4) *a* becomes *o* in *sammosa* = sammârsha, 'confusion,' Gr. 25, Mil. 266, *anto* = antar, 'inside,' and its compositions, *tirokkha* = tiraska, 'absent,' Suttavibh. i. 185.

Sanskrit *ā* is subject to the following changes :—

(1) It becomes *e* in *pārevata* = *pārāpata*, 'pigeon' (*pārāpata* occurs at Jāt. i. 242); *mettika* = *mātrika*, Cariy. i. 9, 11; *khepeti* = *kshapayati*, from *kshap*, the causative of *kshi* according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc., p. 76, and Senart, *Mahāvastu*, p. 492; *theto* = *sthātri*, *Brahmajālasutta*, p. 5; *seleti* = *çādayati*, 'to fall off,' *Buddhavamsa* i. 36 (*usselheti*, C. i. 13, 2 = *Suttavibh.* i. 180, is a compound of this, and has nothing to do with *ussolhi*, as the translators of the passage would make out, *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 349). The change is effected by a *y* standing before or after the vowel in *ācera* = *ācārya*, 'teacher,' *Khuddasikkhā* xv., comp. Hem. i. 73; *pāṭhira* (or *pāṭihāra*) = *prātihārya*, 'a miracle;' *niḃbedheti* = *nirvyādhayati*, 'to transpierce,' Mah. 143.

(2) It becomes *o* in *tumo* = *tmanā*, 'self,' C. vii. 2, 3, Oldenberg K. Z. xxv. 319; *parovara* = *parāvara*, from *para* + *avara*, 'perfect,' Fausb., S. N. 59, 193; *doso* = *doshā*, 'at night;' *dhovati* = *dhāv*, 'to wash.'

(3) It becomes *ū* in some compositions with the root *gā*, 'to go,' like *addhagū*, 'a traveller;' *pāragū*, 'one who has crossed to the other side,' probably through an intermediate *o* (see no. 2), as we have *atigo*, Dh. v. 370; *pārago*, Mah. 60, 250; *vivarantagū*, Jāt. ii. 208. The same change takes place in compositions with *jñā*, 'to know;' as, *viññū*, 'clever;' *sabbaññū*, 'omniscient;' *vadaññū* = *vadanya*, 'bountiful,' is clearly constructed after the false analogy of these forms, but has nothing to do with *jñā*. *Tadaññu*, *Saddhammopāyana*, v. 177, is composed with *jñā*, and is different from *tadañña* = *tad* + *anya*, occurring at v. 149 of the same poem.

Saṃskṛit *i* is subject to the following changes :—

(1) It becomes *a* in *kākaṇikā* = *kākinikā*, 'a small coin ;' *paṭhavī* = *prithivī*, 'the earth ;' *pokkharani* = *pushkarinī*, 'lotus tank ;' *gharaṇi* = *grihiṇī*, 'wife,' M. viii. 1, 12 ; *paṭaṅga* = *phaṇḍinga*, 'a flying insect,' Dh. 412, Mil. 272 ; *sākhalya*, 'friendship,' Childers s. v. *sakhilo*, and some futures like *icchasam*, *pamāḍassam*, mentioned by Trenckner, Pāli Misc., p. 75. A doubtful form is *ānañja*, Jāt. i. 415, ii. 325 ; Suttavibh. i. 4 ; Sāmaññaphalasutta ed. Grimblot, p. 143. A various reading is *ānañca*, which is found besides in Mahāparinibbānaś., p. 34, and Burnouf, Lotus, pp. 306, 467, 866 ; but Buddhaghosa, at Suttavibh. i. 267, explains it by *ānejjappatte*, *acale*, *niccale* and if this is correct it can have nothing to do with Saṃskṛit *ānantya*, but must be derived from the Pāli root *iñj* = Saṃskṛit *iṅg*, 'to move.' Comp. Childers, s. v. *ānejja*, and p. 454, and Senart, Mahāvastu, p. 399.

(2) It becomes *e* in *etta*, 'so much' = Skt. *iyant*, Senart, Mahāvastu, p. 384 (but not *etto*, 'hence,' which is derived from *etta* = *eta*, Goldschmidt, Prâcritica, p. 21—23) ; *viheṣā* = *vihiṃsā*, 'vexation,' and the verb *viheṣeti*, 'to annoy,' Jāt. iii. 295 ; *vehāgamana* = *vihāgamana*, 'coming through the air,' Mah. 157 ; *vematika* = *vimatika*, 'inconsistent ;' *vemajjha* = *vimadhya*, 'the middle ;' *Vessabhū* = *Viṣvabhū*, 'a name of Buddha ;' *mañjeṭṭha* = *mañjishṭha*, 'light red ;' *keratīka*, Jāt. i. 461, and *kerāṭiya*, Jāt. iii. 260 = *kirāṭa*, 'hypocrite,' (comp. Indian Antiquary, vi. 40) ; *esikā* = *ishikā*, 'pillar' (but *isikā*, Sāmaññaph. S. ed. Gr. p. 144), Brahmaj. S 18, neuter pl. *esikāni*, Jāt. ii. 95 ; *terovassika*, 'more than a year old' = Skt. *tirovarshika*, like Vedic *tiro ahnya*, Morris' Report on Pāli Literature, p. 6 ; *dvebhāga*, *dvebhāva*, *dvebhūmaka* = *dvibhāga*, *dvibhāva*, *dvibhūmaka* ; *petṭāpiya* = *pitṭriya*,

Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 62; *mâtāpettibhara*, 'supporting one's parents,' = *mâtṛi* + *pitṛibhara*, *tekiccha*, 'curable,' from *ci-kitsā*, *eṭṭhi* = *isṭi*, 'wish,' Khuddasikkhā. A difficult form is the adverb *seyyathā*, 'just as,' in a comparison, which is explained in different ways by the grammarians. Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 75, explains it as a Magadhizing form, corresponding to the Skt. *tadyathā*, and he is followed by Senart, Mahāvastu, p. 415, who adduces the corresponding form of the northern Buddhists *sayyathidam*, already mentioned by Léon Feer, Etudes Bouddhiques, p. 313. I believe this explanation preferable to that of E. Kuhn, who considers it as a potential *âtmanepadam* of the root *as* 'to be.' A form *seyathā* occurs in the inscription of Bhabra, Cunningham, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, p. 111. A similar change of *a* to *e* is in *yebhuyya* = *yad* + *bhūyas*, Instr. *yebhuyyena*, 'generally,' 'mostly.' The corresponding form of the northern Buddhists is *yobhūyena*, Senart, Mahāvastu 422.

(3) It becomes *u* in *kukkusa* = *kiknasa*, C. x. 27, 4, *kukku* = *kishku*, 'measure of length,' M. vii. 1, 5; *nicchubhīyati* = *kshiv*, 'to spit out,' Mil. 188; also written *nichubhati*, Cariyāp. ix. 23, Bv. xi. 15, Jāt. iii. 512, 513; participle, *nicchuddha*, Mil. 130, Dh. 8, 202; *rājula* = *rājila*, 'a lizard,' *geruka* = *gairika*, 'red chalk,' M. i. 25, 15.

(4) It becomes *o* in *onojeti*, 'to dedicate,' M. i. 22, 18 = *avanejayati* according to Kern, Buddhism, p. 92.

Sanskrit *i* is subject to the following changes:—

(1) It becomes *a* in *kosajja*, 'idleness' = *kausīdya*; *bhasma* = *bhīshma*, 'dreadful,' C. vii. 4, 8 (another form *bhesma* occurs Ab. 167, and *bhisma* in the Mahāsamaya ap. Grimblot, p. 288).

(2) It becomes *ā* in *tiracchāna* = *tiraçcīna*, 'an animal.'

(3) It becomes *e* in *khela* = *krîdâ*, 'play,' Dâth. i. 41, Pischel Beitr. iii. 254; *kelâyatha*, Mil. 73, *âvelâ* = *âpîḍa*, 'a garland;' Prāk. *âmela*, Hem. i. 105; *ereti*, 'to utter,' Dh. v. 134; according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 76 = *ireti*. *E* for *i* is found frequently in derivative syllables, as in the absolutive *gahetvā* for *gṛihîtvā*, in *ājāneyya* for *ājānīya*, and similar forms given by Kacc. p. 196. There is a present *seyyasi* = *çīryasi*, from *çar*, 'to throw down,' occurring only in this form Jât. i. 174, Dh. 147. The commentary explains it by *visiṇṇaphalo hoti*. *Çrî* becomes *se* in the names of two plants, *sepanṇî* = *çrîparṇî* and *sephālikā* = *çrîphālikā*.

(4) It becomes *u* in the root *ṭhubh* = *shṭhîv*, 'to spit;' also written *ṭhuh*, as in *niṭṭhuhati*, S. i. 132; *nuṭṭhuhati*, C. vi. 20, 2, M. viii. 1, 11. The form *niṭṭhuh* occurs also in Prākṛit, Deçināmamālâ, iv. 41.

Sanskrit *u* is subject to the following changes:—

(1) It becomes *a* in *sakkhali* = *çashkuli*, Jât. ii. 281, Suttavibh. i. 55; *agaru* and *agalu* = *aguru*, 'Agallochum;' *dudrabhi* = *dundubhi*, 'drum,' M. i. 6, 8; *vākara* or *vākara*, Jât. iii. 541 = *vâgurâ*, 'net;' *phallati* = *phull*, 'to bear fruit,' and *pharati* = *sphur*, 'to flash.' *Bâhusacca* is derived by Childers from *bâhuçrutya*, by Fausböll from *bâhusmârtya*; the analogy of *muṭṭhasacca*, however, adduced by Childers, points to the latter etymology. *Rathesabha*, 'king,' is according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 59 = *ratheçubh*; according to Senart, Mahāvastu, p. 427 = *ratha* + *ṛishabha*.

(2) It becomes *i* in *dindima* = *dundubhi*, 'drum,' Dīp. 96; *khīpātī* = *kshu*, 'to sneeze;' *muditā* = *mudutā*, Senart, Mahāvastu 629. The identity of *sippī* and *çukṭī*, 'pearl oyster,' assumed by Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 60-75, remains doubtful.

(3) It becomes *o* chiefly before a double consonant, as in *okkā* = *ulkā*, 'torch,' Jât. i. 34; *pottha* = *pusta*, 'a modelled figure,' Jât. ii. 432, and its derivative, *potthalikā* or *potthanikā*, M. vi. 23, 3, C. vii. 3, 4; Prâk. *puttaliā*, Pâiyalacchî 117; *vokkamati* = *vyutkramati* (comp. Pischel's remarks to Hem. i. 116); *pāmokkha* = *pramukhya* (*pāmukkha*, Jât. i. 371). There are, however, also instances of the change before a single consonant, as *kolañña* = *kulaja*, 'of good family,' Mil. 256 (for the termination comp. *aggañña* and Senart's remarks Mahāvastu, p. 617); *koliya*, Jât. iii. 22, and *kolīniya*, Jât. ii. 348 (if the reading *koleyya* is not to be preferred, *kulīna* occurs at Mah. 245); and *kolaputti*, which is not to be considered as a *vuddhi* with Trenckner, Pâli Misc. p. 64. Pâli *koṭi* represents the Skt. *kuṭi* as well as *koṭi*, Lotus 432; *anopama*, Jât. i. 89; Mahāvastu 511 is = *anupama*, Mah. 240.

Sanskrit *ū* is subject to the following changes:

(1) It becomes *ā* in *masāraka* = *masûraka*, 'a sort of bed,' C. vi. 2, 3. *Bhākuṭi*, Suttavibh. i. 181 = *bhrûkuṭi*, 'eye-brow,' most probably goes back to the Skt. *bhrakuṭi* or *bhṛikuṭi*. The common Pâli word *bhamu* is not, as Childers explained it, a careless pronunciation of *bbrû*, but an abbreviation of *bhamuka* or *bhamuha* = *bhrûmukha*, as is shown by the Prâk. *bhamayâ*, Hem. ii. 167. The Sinhalese *baema* also goes back to this form.

(2) It becomes *ī* or *i* in *bhīyo*, *bhiyyo* = *bhūyas*, and in *niyura* = *nûpura*, 'bracelet,' which, however, might stand for *nidhura*.

(3) It becomes *o* in *oja* = *ûrjas*, 'strength,' Jât. i. 68, Dh. 132; *onavāsativasso* = *ûnav°*, 'less than twenty years old.'

Sanskrit *e* is subject to the following changes:—

(1) It becomes *a* in *milakkha* = mleccha (comp. K. Z xxv. 327), and in some verbal forms like *akaramhasa*, Dh. p. 147.

(2) It becomes *ā* in *kāyūra* = keyūra, 'bracelet,' C. v. 2, 1, Jât. iii. 437.

(3) It becomes *i* before double consonants, as in *pasibbaka* = prasevaka, 'bag'; *paṭivissaka* = prativeçaka, 'neighbouring'; *ubbilla* = udvela in *ubbillabhāva*, 'lengthiness,' Saddhammopāyana 136; but also before single ones, as *abhijjhana* from *jeh*, Jât. 546, v. 49, according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 78; *apavīṇati*, Jât. 409, v. 4, from *veṇ*; *pahīṇaka* and *paheṇaka*, 'offering,' Prāk. *paheṇaya*, Pāṭiyal. 206.

(4) It becomes *o* in *maṅkato* = matkṛite, Mil. 384; and in *atippago* = atiprage, 'too early,' corresponding to *atiprāgaḥ* of the northern Buddhists, Mahāvastu 418.

Sanskrit *o* is subject to the following changes:—

It becomes *u* before a double consonant, and *ū* before a single, as in *junhā* = jyotsnā, 'a moon-lit night'; *tutta* = tottra, 'a pike used to guide an elephant,' Cariy. iii. 5, 2; *tadūpiya*, 'suitable, corresponding,' which is not = *tadrūpya*, as Childers suggested. Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 77, identifies it with Skt. *tadopya*, which is derived from the root *vap* in composition with *ā*, and ascribes the change of *o* to *ū* to the following *i*; but Senart, Inscriptions de Piyadasi i. 188, and Mahāvastu 493, takes it as a compound of *tad* + *opaya*. *Viśūka* = viçoka, 'spectacle'; *dūbha* = droha, 'deceiving,' Mah. 49; *khajjūpanaka*, Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 59, for *khajjo-panaka* = khadyota, 'the fire-fly'; *ārūgya* = ārogya, 'good health,' M. N. 66. Also an *o* contracted from *ava* is subject to this change, as in *ussāva* = avaçyāya, 'dew'; *ujjhā* = avadhyā, 'to blame'; and *uddeti* = *oddeti* = *ava* + *di*,

according to Morris, *Anguttaranikâya* i. 21, 4. Comp. the remarks of Fausböll, *Two Jâtakas* 13, the verb *niddâyeti*, *Jât.* i. 215, *niddâpeti*, *C.* vii. 1, 2, identified by Oldenberg with *nirdâtâ*, *Manu* vii. 110. An example of an *o* changed to *u* before a single consonant is *ukkusa* = *utkroça*, 'the osprey,' only written *ukkûsa* at *Jât.* 486, v. 2, where the *û* is required by the metre.

§. 5. Change of Quantity.

Long vowels before a double consonant are generally shortened. The reason is given by *Kacc.* vii. 5, 13-14, where he says that a short vowel before a double consonant as a long vowel is called *garu*. This rule, however, is not always followed by the manuscripts, where we often find a long vowel before a double consonant, especially when the long vowel is the result of a contraction. Fausböll, in the preface to his edition of the *Dhammapada*, p. vii., was the first to call attention to this inconsistency of the manuscripts, and afterwards Senart, *Kacc.* pp. 4, 5, has discussed it at some length. The principles established by him have been followed on the whole by the recent editors of *Pâli* texts, as far as the groups with assimilated consonants are concerned; and also Childers, in his *Pâli Dictionary*, has adopted them with a few exceptions, so he writes *ājjavam* instead of *ājavam*, *Kacc.* 216 = *Skt.* *ârjava*, *dābhî* = *Skt.* *dârî*, *dâtta* = *dâtra*, following *Abhidhânappadîpikâ*. Kuhn, in his *Pâli Grammar*, p. 18, condemns this way of writing, and allows the long vowel only in those instances in which a contraction has taken place, as in *nāgghati* = *na* + *agghati*, *piyâppiya* = *piya* + *appiya*. The Sinhalese editions generally follow the method of the manuscripts.

Before a nasal we generally find the law observed, as *santa*, *danta*, *vanta* = *çânta*, *dânta*, *vânta*, Kacc. 295, but the editors of the second part of the *Mahāvamsa* write *lāṅganakicca*, Mah. 39, 28. Before other groups of consonants the editions are less consistent; we have *ativākya*, Ab. 122, Dh. 57; *sakya*, *sakka*, *sakiya* = *çākya*, Mah. 9, 55, Abh. 5, 336; *ākhyāta* and *akkhāta*, Kacc. 5, 220; *pahatvāna* = *pahātvā*, 'having left behind,' Dh. v. 243, 415; *dussīlya*, Dh. v. 162 = *dauḥṣīlya*, 'wickedness;' *balya*, 'childhood,' Dh. v. 63, but *bālya*, Ab. 250, 1079; *ñatvā* and *bhitvā*, from *jñā* and *bhī*, Kacc. 303, Dh. 85, 379; *kamyatā* = *kāmyatā*, 'desire;' *bahya* = *bāhya*, 'external.'

Another possibility of avoiding the contact of a long vowel with a double consonant is to put the single consonant of the group resulting by assimilation, as in *ājava* = *ārjava*, Kacc. 216, Ten Jât. 98; *kāsu* = *karshû*, 'hole,' *ūmi* = *ūrmi*, 'wave,' Ab. 662; but *ummi*, Mil. 346; *bhānaka* = *bhāṇḍaka*, 'jar,' Suttavibh. 90, Ascoli Kritische Studien, p. 211; *bhāja* = *bhūrja*, 'the birch;' *ahāsi* = *ahārshît*, 'he took.' The same process may take place after a short vowel, which then is lengthened, as in *sājīva* for *sajjīva* = *sad* + *jīva*, 'rule of conduct,' Pât. 5, 65, comp. Senart, *Mahāvastu* 481; *vūpakāśati* = *vyupakarsh*, 'to make clear,' M. i. 25, 20, Pât. 109; *svātana* = *çvastana*, 'belonging to to-morrow,' Dh. 231; *vāka* = *valka*, 'bark of a tree;' *sankāpayati* = *sāṅkappayati*, 'to arrange,' M. iii. 1, 2 (there are, however, two various readings, *sāṅkāyati*, C. x. 18, and *Anguttaranikāya*, p. 117, and *sāṅkāmeti*, Suttavibh. i. 50, which render the etymology doubtful). Several compounds with the preposition *ud*, as *ūhadeti* = *ud* + *had*, 'to befoul with excrement;' *ūhata* = *ud* + *hata*, 'destroyed,' Dh. 375, *Mahāvastu*, 379, 566; *ūhasana*, from *ud* + *has*, 'laughter,'

Mil. 127. *Uhanati*, M. i. 49, 4, Suttavibh. ii. 40, seems to be synonymous with *úhadati*, mentioned before; and I believe the translation given by Davids and Oldenberg, 'threw their bedding out,' not to be correct. The passive *úhaññi* is found M. i. 25, 15, the past participle *úhata*, C. viii. 10, 3; and another compound of the same root, *ohaneti*, occurs in the same signification, Cariy. ii. 5, 4, where it is in parallel to *uccdra-passávam katvá*, Jât. ii. 385.

The opposite way is to shorten the vowel before a double consonant, as in the instances given above, and this can also be done where a single consonant follows a long vowel. Frequent instances occur in the genitive plural of stems ending in *u* or *as*; as *bahunnam* = bahûnâm, Dh. 81, *pitunnam* = pitrî-nâm; and of numerals, as *tinnam*, *pañcannam*. But there are also a number of other words belonging to this category; as *bhummi* = bhûmi, 'earth,' C. xii. 2, 5; *mattisambhava* = mâ-tris°, Dh. v. 396; *mâtumattika* = mâtṛimâṭṛika, Suttavibh. i. 16; *unhissa* = ushñisha, 'diadem,' Bv. p. 68, note; *vanibbaka* = vanîpaka (which is found Cariy. i. 4, 5), 'beggar,' with change of *p* to *bb*; *niddha* = nîḍa, 'nest,' from ni + sad; (comp. Hem. i. 106, Weber Indische Streifen i. 141, Ascoli 284); *sutta* = syûta, 'sewn;'; *daṭṭha* = dâṭhâ, 'jaw,' Mil. 150; *abbahati* = â + bñih, 'to take down,' and its causative *abbâhetti*, 'to pluck,' M. vi. 20, 2, C. vii. 4, 5; *jaṇṇu* = jânu, 'knee,' Mahâparinibb. 69; *avassayim* for *avâsayim* (comm. *vâsam kap-pesim*), 'I lived,' Jât. ii. 80. Syllables ending with *y* are especially often treated in this way; as *abhiḥhuyya* = abhi-bhûya, Dh. v. 328; *bhiyyo* = bhîyo for bhûyas, mentioned above; *jiyyati* = jîyati, 'to decay,' Dh. 179, and the suffix *iyya* = îya.

The same transformations we have hitherto mentioned can

also take place in syllables which contain an *e* or an *o*, with the only difference that these diphthongs always remain as they are; they are considered long before a single consonant and short before a group, as stated by the grammarian Mogallâna (Alwis, Introduction, p. xvii. note, Catal. 41, 184). Generally, however, the syllable conforms to the condition, according with the etymology of a word. The following are exceptions, where the simple consonant stands for the double: *veṭheti* = *vesṭayati*, 'to surround'; *sekha* = *ṣaiksha*, 'a disciple'; *apekhā* and *apekkhā*, 'desire,' = *apekshā*, *upekhā* and *upekkhā*, 'equanimity'; *vimokha* = *vimoksha*, 'release.' *Y* is always doubled after *e*, as in *seyyo* = *ṣreyas*, 'better'; *mac-cudheyya* = *mṛityudheya*, 'death:' the only exception is *keyūra*, 'bracelet,' Ab. 287, which generally becomes *kāyūra* (see above). *V* after *o* is only doubled in *yobbana* = *yauvana*, 'youth.' After the prefix *o*, contracted from *ava*, a double consonant formed by assimilation always remains, as in *abbocchinna* = *avyavacchinna*, 'unbroken,' Mil. 72; *okkhitta* = *avakshipta*, 'cast down,' Pât. 20, 21; and even a simple consonant is often doubled, as in *ossajjati* = *avasṛij*, 'to give up'; *ossakamāna* = *avasarpamāna*, 'scattered,' Jât. i. 139; *abbhokkīraṇa* = *abhyavakīraṇa*, 'covering,' and, with change of *o* to *u*, *abbhukkīrati*. Jât. ii. 311.

The cases of change of quantity are by no means yet exhausted by the rules and examples given above. We have numerous instances where the change is due entirely to the metre, and others again where no reason is visible. We will try in the sequel to keep separate as much as possible these two cases, and mention those instances which are supported by the Prākṛit dialects.

The roots terminating in *ā*, as *jñā*, *dā*, *sthā*, almost regularly

shorten the vowel in composition, and in derived forms, as, e.g., *paññavā* = *prajñāvānt*, 'wise,' always written with *ā* except in a passage of the *Cūlakammavibhaṅgasutta*, quoted by Gogerly, Ev. 31. From *sthā* we have *paṭṭhāpeti*, 'to bring forward.' The same occurs in *saṃkhata* = *saṃkhyāta*, Dh. v. 70, where, however, it might also be shortened by a confusion with *saṃkhata* = *saṃskṛita*. *Ā* in the middle of a root is shortened in *gahati* and *gaheti*, 'to dive,' = *gāh*, and its compositions *ogahi*, Mah. 152; *ogaha*, Jāt. iii. 289; *vigayhati* and *vigahāpeti*. Suffixes with long vowels are very often shortened, as, e.g., *āgahita* = *āgrihīta*, 'seized,' Dh. 107; *appatita* = *apratīta*, 'displeased,' Pât. 4, 5; *sadevika* = *sadevika*, 'accompanied by his queen,' Mah. 205; *vipaccanika* = *vipratyanika*, 'hostile,' Grimblot 1; *paccanika*, Cariy. ii. 8, 4; *ahirika* = *ahrīka*, 'shameless,' Dh. 44; *sāluka* = *çālūka*, 'the root of the water-lily,' M. vi. 35, 6. Especially the suffix *īya* is almost regularly shortened, as in *pāniya* = *pāniya*, 'water,' M. i. 26, 4; *sakiya* = *svakiya*, 'own'; *upādāniya* = *upādāniya*, 'sensual,' in a passage of the *Samyuttaka Nikāya* quoted by Oldenberg, Buddha 435; *pāṭidesaniya* = *pratideçanīya*, 'a class of priestly sins requiring confession,' constantly written so in the *Pātimokkha* and *Suttavibhaṅga*; *gariya* = *gariyas*, 'heavier,' Dh. 245, &c. Shortening by svarabhakti is very frequent in Pāli, as in *bhariyā* = *bhāryā*, 'wife'; *dcariya* = *ācārya*, 'teacher'; *suriya* = *sūrya*, 'sun,' and numerous other examples.

Lengthening of vowels occurs principally, in prepositions, as in *ābhidosika*, 'stale,' from *abhidosā*, 'evening,' *Suttavibh.* i. 15; *pāṭibhoga* = *pratibhoga*, 'surety,' comp. Mahāvastu 582; *pāvacana* = *pravacana*, 'the Holy Scriptures' (the same in the language of the northern Buddhists, Mahāvastu 566); *pākata* = *prakata*, 'clear, evident'; *pāheti*, 'to send' = *prahi*, from

the false analogy of the aorist *pāhesi*; *pāyāti* and *pāyāto*, from *prayā*, 'to depart,' Jât. i. 146; Rhys Davids, Buddhist Suttas, p. 241, note. There are, however, some other instances of lengthened vowels besides: *a* privativum is lengthened in *āya-sakya*, 'disgraceful,' from *a* + *yaças*, Jât. ii. 33, iii. 514, in *paccāmitta* = *pratyamitra*, 'enemy.' Other vowels in *ālinda* = *alinda*, 'terrace;' *ājira* = *ajira*, 'court,' Mah. 215; *pāyāsa* = *pāyasa*, 'rice porridge;' *gāvuta* = *gavyūti*, 'a measure of length;' *ummdra* = *udumbara*, 'threshold;' *sabbāvā* = *sarva-vat*, 'entire;' *kharāpiṇḍa*, 'lump of glass,' Dīp. 102. Lengthening is very frequent also when a word is repeated in composition; as *phalāphala* = *phala* + *phala*, 'wild fruits, berries;' *divādivassa*, 'at an unusual hour,' Ten Jât. 16, Ch. Addenda; *khaṇḍākhandaṃ*, 'in pieces;' *kiccākiccāni*, 'all sorts of duties.'

According to the law given by Kaccâyana, vii. 5, 13, that a short vowel before a double consonant is considered as a long one, we have to treat here also those cases where a single consonant after a short vowel is doubled, and a double one simplified, because the quantity of the syllable is changed by this process. In these cases it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish what is due to the metre, and what not. A clear instance of metrical change would be *appabodhati*, Dh. v. 143, if Subhûti's opinion is right, that it stands for *apabodhati*; Weber, however, and Max Müller refer it to *alpabodhati*, 'parvi facere,' and Fausböll to *a* + *prabodhati*. Subhûti's view is supported by *apparājita* = *aparājita*, 'unconquered,' Cariy. i. 2, 2. Other instances are *saparijjana*, 'with his attendants,' Cariy. ii. 8, 2; *kappilāyaṃ*, Cariy. ii. 9, 2; *nikkhani* for *nikhani*, 'he buried,' Cariy. iii. 14, 4; *abhinivassatha*, 'he lived,' Cariy. i. 10, 3; *upavassatha*, ib. i. 10, 5; *paddhāna*, Bv. xvii. 16; *ut-tassati* = *uttrasati*, 'he trembles,' Cariy. iii. 13, 4 (participle

uttrassa, M. x. 2, 16); *suppatha*, Ab. 193; *kummiga* = *kum-riga*, Mil. 346; *paggharati*, 'to ooze,' Dh. 81; *abhisammayo*, Bv. vi. 3; *paribbasāna* = *parivasāna*, 'abiding,' Fausböll, S. N. 152. The following are instances from prose texts where the doubling cannot be ascribed to metrical influence: *patikkūla* = *pratikkūla*, 'contrary'; *jātassara* = *jātasara*, 'a natural pond'; *sakkāya* = *svakāya*, 'individuality'; *anuddayā* = *anudayā*, 'compassion and *anuddayatā*, Suttavibh. i. 247; *vibbheda* = *vibheda*, 'division,' Jāt. i. 212; *ummā* = *umā*, 'flax,' Mil. 118; *cheppā* = *çepa*, 'tail,' M. v. 9, 1; *cikkhalla* = *cikhalya*, 'mud,' M. vii. 1, 1; *niggahīta* = *nigrihīta*, 'restrained,' *okkassa* = *avakriṣhya*, 'having dragged away,' Mahāparinibb. 3; *upakkilesa* = *upakleṣa*, 'sin'; *upassatṭha* = *upasṛiṣṭa*, 'oppressed,' Jāt. i. 61; *vikkhāyitaka* from *vi* + *khād*, comp. Kern, Buddhism, 402; *pāṭiekkā* = *pratyeka*, 'individual' (regular form *pacceka*); *kallahāra* = *kahlāra*, 'the white water-lily'; *mukkhara* = *mu-khara*, 'noisy,' Minayeff, Pāt. 59; *vissajjeti*, from *vi* + *srij*, 'to give away,' and *avissajjiya*, *avissajjika*, C. vi. 15, 2, M. viii. 27, 5 (but *visajja* in a metrical passage Mahāparinibb. 17), and *avissatṭhaka*, Jāt. i. 434.

Compared with these instances of doubling a consonant, the instances of the opposite process are but few, and they are nearly all to be ascribed to metrical influence. So we have *dukha* instead of *dukkha* = *duḥkha*, 'sorrow,' Dh. v. 83; *puṭha* instead of *puṭṭha* = *puṣṭa*, 'fed,' Dh. v. 218; *kaṇikā* = *kaṇṇikā*, 'an ear ornament,' Ab. 574. In prose texts I have only found *kaṇikāra* = *kaṇṇikāra*, 'the tree *Pterospermum acerifolium*,' Jāt. ii. 25; and *bhadanta*, also written *bhaddanta* = *bhadraṇṭa*, 'a venerable man, a Buddhist priest.'

§ 6. Nasal Vowels.

The anusvâra or *niggahîta* can stand before every consonant, but before an explosive sound it may also migrate into the nasal of the corresponding class. So you may write *kumkuma* or *kunkuma*, *saṃcarati* or *sañcarati*, *saṃdâsa* or *saṇḍâsa*, *taṃḍita* or *tandita*, *kambala* or *kambala*. In the first instance, however, before a guttural it is usual to transcribe the nasal by a simple *ṇ* without any diacritical sign. Before *h* the anusvâra can be changed into the palatal or cerebral nasal, as *pañha* = *praçna*, 'question,' but *paṇhi* = *pricṇi*, 'variegated;' in both instances the origin of the group is the same, viz., from *çn*, but the usage has been fixed in different ways. From *pañha* is derived *apaṇṇaka* for *apaṇhaka*, 'certain,' always spelt with the cerebral group. *Paripaṇhati* is spelt with the cerebral in Minayeff's *Pātimokkha*, p. 17, 92; but in the corresponding passage of the *Suttavibh.* ii. 141, we have *paripaṇḥati*, which I consider to be more correct. *Prāk.* *paṇha*, *Hem.* ii. 75. In the same way we have *taṇhā* = *trishṇā*, 'thirst,' *saṇha* = *çlakshṇa*; but its derivative, spelt *saṇhita*, *Mah.* 104. *Osaṇhati*, at *C.* v. 2, 3, is also spelt with the cerebral, and I believe this to be the correct spelling, as the *ṇ* is already found in *Sam̐skṛit*. I cannot account for the change of *ñ* to *ṇ* in *apaṇṇattika* = *aprajñaptika*, 'not existing,' in *āṇā* = *ājñā*, 'order,' *āṇāpeti*, *āṇāpana*, &c.

Before a *y* the anusvâra can remain, or the whole group can migrate into *ññ*, as e.g. *saṃyoga* or *saññoga*. Before *r*, *s*, *v* it is always retained. Before *l* the anusvâra is always assimilated, as in *sallāpa* = *saṃlāpa*, 'conversation.' Before a vowel it becomes *m* in poetry when a short syllable is required, the nasal vowels being invariably considered as long.

The grammarian Vanaratana, according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 80, remarks that *h* may be joined to any one of the five nasals; for *h* with the guttural nasal I can adduce no example, but for *h* with the dental nasal we have *cinha* = *cihna*, 'mark,' *pubbanha*, Mil. 17; *majjhanha* = *madhyāhna*, 'midday,' Ab. 767; *sāyaṇha* = *sāyāhna*, 'evening,' seems to be always spelt with the cerebral.

The nasal vowel is sometimes replaced by a long one, as in *siha* = *siṃha*, 'a lion;' *visati* = *viṃsati*, 'twenty;' *saṇḍāsa* = *saṃdaṃṣa*, 'tongs;' *dāṭhā* = *daṃṣṭrā*, 'jaw.' This happens often in the preposition *saṃ* when it is followed by *r*, as in *sārāga* = *saṃrāga*, 'passion;' *sārambha* = *saṃrambha*, 'clamour;' *sārambhī*, 'clamorous,' Jāt. iii. 259; *sārāṇīyo*, Mahāvastu. 2, is according to Senart's explanation, Mahāvastu, p. 599 = *saṃrañjīṇīya* for *saṃrañjaniya*, and = *sārāyaṇīya* of the northern Buddhists, which etymology is confirmed by the passage of the Lalitavistara, p. 530, where we read *sammodanīḥ saṃrañjanīḥ kathāḥ kṛitvā*, corresponding to the Pāli *sammodanīyaṃ katham sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā*, comp. also Vinaya texts, ii. 364. *Sār-dham* loses its anusvāra in the compound *saddhivihārīka*, 'fellow priest,' and also in the simple word in a passage of Buddhaghosa quoted C. 318.

The opposite process is the development of an unorganic anusvāra out of an explosive consonant. This process has taken very large dimensions in the Sinhalese down from the 10th or 11th century (see my Contributions to Sinhalese Grammar, pp. 12, 13), but we find the beginning of it already in Pāli, and it is not merely the corrupt spelling of the Sinhalese writers as Childers believed (see Childers, s. v. *nagaram*). Moreover, a form *nangaram* occurs in the Samskrit of the northern Buddhists, Mahāvastu pp. 83, 440, so that we have

no reason to doubt its correctness in Pāli. *Nānga* for *nāga*, 'snake,' Dh. 102, occurs again in the introduction to the Samanta pāsādikā, and seems to be also a correct form. Other instances are *sanantana*=*sanātana*, 'perpetual,' which Childers explains as *sanaṇ* + *tana*; *piṇja*=*piccha*, 'wing,' (*piccha* occurs at M. v. 2, 3); *mahiṃsa*=*mahisha*, 'buffalo,' Cariy. ii. 5, 1, and *mahiṃsakamaṇḍala*, 'the Andhra country;' the insertion is especially frequent in syllables which originally contain an *r*; *sammunjanī*=*sammârjanī*, 'a broom' (also written *sammujjanī*, Jât. i. 161); *saṃvari*=*çarvari*, 'the night;' *dandha*=*dr̥ḍha*, 'slow' according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 65, and its derivatives *dandhati*, Jât. i. 345, Feer Etudes Bouddhiques 133, Cariy. viii. 13 (*dantayī* is a mistake); *dandhāyandā*, Mil. 59, 105; *dandhayitattam*, Mil. 115; *maṅkato*=*matkrite*, Mil. 384; *maṅkulā*=*matkuṇa*, 'bug,' Pât. 91, comp. Skt. *maṅkhuna*; *añc*=*arc*, 'to worship' according to Weber (we find, however, *accayissam*, Dâṭh. v. 17, and *accita*, Ab. 750); another *añc* occurs, Jât. i. 417, to explain *udañcanī*; *sanda*=*sâdra*, 'thick, coarse;' *siṅgāla*=*çrigāla*, 'jackal;' *vitamsā*=*vitastā*, Mil. 114; *nantaka*=*naktaka* or *laktaka*, 'dirty cloth,' Jât. iii. 22, which Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 81, believes to be borrowed from an aboriginal language: the regular form *lattaka* occurs Dh. 190. Some participles must be mentioned here of verbs that have *n* in the present, as *randha*=*raddha*, from *randheti*, 'to destroy,' Mil. 107, Jât. 537 v. 108, 538 v. 85; *bandha*=*baddha*, 'bound,' Kacc. 130, M. viii. 12, 1, where Buddhaghosa has *baddham*; *pilandha*=*pinaddha*, from *pilandhati*, 'to rear,' Mil. 337. The aorist *agañchi*, and the future *gañchati* or *gañchīti*, from *gacchati*, 'to go,' occur according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. pp. 71—74, only in Sinhalese manuscripts, while the Burmese almost constantly write *agacchi*; besides, in the compound *adhigacchati*

the aorist does not take the nasal, and in the plural before *-imsa*, *-ittha*, *-imha*, the form *gañchi* is very rarely used. I believe these forms to have followed the false analogy of *adañchi* from *damç*, 'to bite,' Jât. 444 v. 3, and of *âhañchi*, M. i. 6, 8, *hañchema*, Jât. ii. 418, from *han*, 'to strike,' which both have the nasal in the root.

We often find a nasal added at the end of a word, as in *sakkaccaṃ* = *satkṛitya*, 'respectfully ;' *kudācanam* = *kudâ + cana*, 'ever ;' *aññadatthum* = *anyad + astu*, 'only, exclusively ;' in a passage of the *Saṃyuttaka Nikâya*, quoted by Trenckner, P. M. 67, *tatthañca* = *tatra ca*, Mah. 5. In two instances we find *n* instead of the anusvâra : *cirann âyati*, Kacc. 26, and *satānan esa dhamma* for *satānam*, Jayaddisa Jâtaka. Besides, at the end of the first part of compounds, not only in such cases where it is to be considered as an accusative, as in *atalamphassa* = *atalasparça*, 'not touching the bottom ;' *sabbañjaha*, 'leaving everything ;' such instances are *viralañjana* = *virala + jana*, 'thinly peopled,' Att. 204 ; *andhantama* = *andha + tamas*, 'thick darkness ;' *attantapa*, 'self-tormenting,' Childers s.v. *puggala* ; *gaṇamgaṇa*, 'with many linings, M. v. 1, 30 ;' *rathandhuri* = *ratha + dhur*, 'the yoke of the carriage,' Sad-dhammopâyaṇa v. 468 ; *kabalimkāra* = *kabalīkāra* (the writing of the Burmese MSS.) 'material food,' Gr. 43 ; *jayampatī*, 'husband and wife,' most probably standing for *jâyâpati* and also *tudampati*, would go back to the same form if Childers' etymology is right ; comp. Kuhn's Lit. Bl., no. 1, art. 2. The contracted form *jampatī* occurs Dâth. iv. 25.

§ 7. Vowels Added or Dropped.

A vowel in the middle of a word has been elided in *agga* for

agra=*agāra*, 'house,' only used in compounds; *dhītā*=*dubitā*, 'daughter'; *jaggati* for *jāgarati*, 'to watch'; and in the termination *mhe* for *mahe*, of the 1st person pl., *âtmanepadam*.

A vowel at the beginning is dropped in *laṅkāra*=*alankāra*, 'ornament, decoration,' *Dîp.* 47; *numati*=*anumati*, 'consent,' *Dîp.* 35; *valañjeti*=*avalañjeti*, 'to use, to spend' (the full form occurs *Jât.* i. 111, *Suttavibh.* ii. 266); *pināsa*, 'catarrh'=*apināsa*, *Skt.* *pīnasa*; *parajjhati* for *aparajjhati*, from *rādh*, 'to be injured'; *pavana*=*upavana*, 'side of a mountain,' according to *Subhūti*, *Jât.* i. 23, and perhaps *vegga*=*avekshā*, 'care,' *Mahāparin.* 25, *Rhys David's Buddhist Suttas* p. 37.

About *pi* for *api*, *ti* for *iti*, *va* for *iva* and *eva*, we shall speak hereafter in the chapter on *Sandhi*.

The only instance of a vowel added in the beginning of a word is *ittihī*=*strī* (*istrī* in the *Gāthās* of the northern Buddhists), an evolution which bears the closest similarity to that in the Romance languages, as, e.g. *ispirito*=*spiritus*.

§ 8. Consonants.

(1) *Gutturals*.—A Sanskrit guttural is represented by a palatal in *cunda*=*kunda*, 'turner,' *Mil.* 331; *iñj* and its compound *sammiñj* were also believed to come under this rule by *Fausböll*, *Dhp.* 273, and *Weber*, *Ind. Stud.* iii. 147, *Ind. Streifen* i. 131, iii. 397, who identified it with *Skt.* *iṅ*; other etymologies of these difficult words have been suggested since, of which I will only mention two, that of *Senart*, *Mahāvastu* p. 418, who believes *sammiñj* to stand for *saṃvriñj*, and that of *Oldenberg*, *K. Z.* xxv. 324, who derives it from *añc*. Against *Senart* there is only this to say, that the root *vriñj* occurs in

the form *viññ*, Suttavibh. ii. 264, in the form *viñj*, Suttavibh. i. 127 (comp. Trenckner, P. M. 59); and Oldenberg leaves the double *m* entirely unexplained. The form *samiñjayati* occurs also in the Bṛihad Âraṇyaka Upanishad, 6, 4, 23; and perhaps after all this may be the right etymology (Boehtlingk-Roth. s. v. *saṃ + iñg*).

(2) *Palatals*.—A Skt. palatal is represented by a guttural in *bhisakka* = *bhishaj*, 'physician' (but *Satabhisaja* = *çatabhishaj*, Ab. 60); *milakkha* = *mleccha* for *milaska*, K. Z. xxv. 327; *pabhaṅguna* = *prabhañjana*, 'destruction.' Of much greater importance than this is the change of palatals to dentals, very frequent not only in Pāli but throughout the Indian vernaculars. Especially the Sinhalese, down from the 9th century, is fond of this change, of which I have given numerous examples in my Contributions to Sinhalese Grammar, pp. 17, 18. An instance of this change in Skt. is *saṃsṛidbhis*, from *saṃsṛij*, T.B. i. 8, 1, 1, Çat. B. v. 4, 5. 3. As in Sinhalese throughout, so we find in Pāli already a limited number of instances where *j* passes into *d*, and *c* to *s*, seldom into *t*: *digucchati* and *jigucchati* = *jugupsati*, 'to despise'; *tudampatī* compared with *jayampatī* and *jampatī*, Dāṭh. iv. 25, see Childers s. v.; *digacchā* and *jighacchā* = *jighatsā*, 'hunger,' Pischel Beitr. iii. 249; *pariccadi* from *pariccajati* = *parityaj*, 'to forsake.' So *s* for *c* or *ch* in *ussita* = *ucchṛita*, 'lofty,' Dīp. 19, Suttavibh. i. 79 (*ucchita*, Ab. 708), and its compound *samussita* in a passage of Pāpañca Sūdanī Alwis. Intr. 79; another *samussita* = *samuccita*, 'accumulated,' occurs at Dh. v. 147; *ussaya*, Suttavibh. ii. 224, must mean 'dispute, quarrel,' but I am not sure about its etymology; *ussati*, various reading, Ang. i. 5, 5, is explained by Morris as being the present of *ussita* = *ucchṛita*, but I doubt very much the correctness of this identification; *ussa* = *ucca*,

'distinguished,' Fausböll, S. N. 164: *t* for *c* in *tikicchā* = *cikitsā*, 'medicine;' *uttitttha* for *ucchitttha* = *ud + çishṭa*, 'left over,' M. i. 24, 1, Mil. 213, 214, see also Vinaya texts i. 152; *vitacchikā* = *vicarcikā*, 'scabies.' In *upacikā*, 'white ant' = Skt. *upadikā*, the Pāli seems to have retained the original palatal, while the Skt. has turned it into the dental: see Trenckner, P. M. 62. In *kaṣiṇa* = *kṛitsna*, 'entire,' and *dosina* = *jyautsna*, 'clear, spotless,' I believe the *t* to be dropped first, and then the consonants to have been separated by svarabhakti (see above, and Ascoli, Krit. Stud. 249).

(3) *Cerebrals*.—As in all Indian vernaculars cerebralization has been carried in Pāli much further than in Sanskrit, although not so far as in Sinhalese and some other Prākṛits. The opposite process, viz. change of a Skt. cerebral to a dental in Pāli is very rare: *ceṭaka* = *ceṭaka*, 'servant,' Suttavibh. ii. 66, Cariy. ii. 4, 7; *kotthuka* = *kroṣṭhā*, 'jackal,' Mil. 23, 118 (*koṭṭhuka*, Jāt. ii. 108); *deṇḍima* = *ḍiṇḍima*, 'drum,' Jāt. i. 355; *dinḍima*, Dīp. 86, Bv. i. 32, may either be the same or = *duṇḍubhi*, 'kettle-drum;' *dindibha* = *ṭiṭṭibha*, 'name of a bird,' Ab. 643; *kubbāna* = *kurvāna*, 'doing.' In *khānu* = *sthānu*, 'the stump of a tree,' I believe the spelling with the dental to be the correct one, as we have it Dh. 107, Mil. 34, and in *khānuka*, Jāt. i. 483; as for *khaṇati*, which Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 58, 59, believes to have influenced *khānu*, it is also spelt with the dental in several instances, and where it is spelt with the cerebral this can be easily accounted for by assuming a confusion with the root, 'kṣhaṇ.' *Ghāna* = *ghrāṇa*, 'the nose,' is always spelt with the dental; *goṇa*, 'bullock,' spelt *gonā*, Jāt. ii. 300, is derived from the root *gur*, 'to growl;' *gonaka* most probably = *gauṇika*, 'a woollen coverlet,' Gr. 9, M. v. 10, 4 (comp. Pischel, Beitr. iii. 236). Besides, we have the dental instead of

the cerebral in the terminations of the aorist—*ittho*=ishṭhās, *-ittha*=ishṭa.

The Pāli has one sound belonging to the cerebral class which does not exist in classical Samskr̥it, but only in the dialect of the Vedas, viz. the cerebral *ḷ*, distinguished from the dental by a dot under the line. It is very difficult to give exact rules for the use of this *ḷ* as the manuscripts are even less consistent in this respect than with regard to the dental and cerebral *n*. Generally speaking, *ḷ* or *ḷh* between two vowels represents *ḍ*, *ḍh*, but we find it used promiscuously also for the dentals. I have collected a number of instances from Pāli texts which will illustrate the use of these sounds: *ālulati* Pât. xvi., but *ālulati* Jât. i. 25, ii. 9, *ālolāpeti* Alw. i. 103; *bubbula*=buddbuda, 'a bubble,' Jât. i. 68, *bubbulaka*, Samanta Pāsād. 336, but *bubbula*, Mah. 175, 213, Att. 10, 190, *bubbula*, Dh. 31, 336; *palāsa*, 'leaf,' Dh. 42, but *palāsa*, 'pride,' Mil. 289; *kabala*, 'mouthful,' Pât. 22, Mah. 121, but *kabaḷa*, Jât. i. 68, Mil. 180, *kabalikā*, M. vi. 14, 5; *kukkula*, 'hot ashes,' Ab. 36, but *kukkula*, Jât. i. 73, 423; *māla*, 'pavilion,' M. iii. 5, 9, but *māla*, Gr. 2, Mil. 16, 47; *cola*, 'cloth,' Pât. 86, Mah. 219, *colaka*, C. v. 9, 4, but *coḷa*, Mil. 74, *coḷaka*, M. i. 25, 15, Mil. 53; *celukkhepa*, 'waving a cloth,' Mah. 99, 113, but *celukkhepa*, Samanta Pāsād. 336; *gālha*, 'deep,' Jât. ii. 75, but *gālha*, Jât. i. 155, *gālhaḷa*, Jât. i. 265; *gādha* also is found in a later text, Saddhammopāyana, v. 394.

(4) *Dentals*.—The change of a dental to a cerebral is generally caused by a preceding *r* in the original form of the word; for instance, *pajjunṇa*=parjanya, Mah. 129 (*pajjunna*, Jât. i. 331), 'cloud,' *kaṭākata*=kṛitākṛita, 'done and undone,' M. vi. 14, 7, but *katākata*, Dh. v. 50; *sakkata*=saṃskṛita, 'Samskr̥it,' in a passage of Buddhaghosa quoted C. 322 but

sakkata, Kacc. 10; *pāsaṇḍa*, 'heretical,' most probably = pārshadya, Kern, Açoka, 58. In a great many instances, however, an *r* has no effect on a following dental, as in *mud-dikā* = mṛidhvikā, M. vi. 35, 6; in *attha* = artha, 'cause,' also spelt *aṭṭha* and *aṭṭa*; in the verb *vattati*, 'to begin,' = vartate (*vattati* means 'to be right,' see Childers, s. v.); *pati* and *paṭi* = prati (see Childers, s. v.); *sithila*, 'loose,' and *saṭhila*, 'crafty,' both from ṣrath (comp. Hem. i. 89), *sāthalika*, Ang. ii. 5, 3. The *n* of the preposition *ni* preceded by *pa* = pra is always changed into *ṇ*, as, e.g., *paṇidahati* = pranidhā; after *pari* it is generally changed, as in *pariṇāyaka*, Mil. 38, Jât. ii. 393; we find, however, also *pariṇāyaka*, Mah. 63, Mahāparin. 5, and *parinaya* = pariṇaya, 'marriage,' Ab. 318, *parinibbāna*, *pariniṭṭhanti*, S. P. 332. On the other hand we have also instances where the change of a dental into a cerebral is not due to a preceding *r*, as in *sūṇā* = ṣūṇā, 'a slaughter-house,' also spelt *sūṇā*, M. vi. 10, 2, Suttavibh. i. 59; *jāṇu* = jānu, 'knee,' Mahāparin. 69, Ab. 742; *sakuṇa* = ṣakuna, 'a bird'; *sakkunāti* = ṣaknoti, 'to be able'; *saṇim*, *saṇikam* = ṣanais, 'slowly' or 'quickly'; *sobhana* = ṣobhana, 'resplendent'; *diṇṇa*, past participle of *dā*, 'to give,' in *pariyādiṇṇa*, Mil. 289; *kaviṭṭha* and *kapiṭṭha*, Jât. i. 237, = *kapittha*, 'the tree Feronia Elephantum'; *kapiṭhana* = kapitana, 'the tree Thespesia Populneoides,' Suttavibh. ii. 35; *patisallāna* = pratisaṃlayana, 'seclusion,' spelt with the dental, Dīp. 63, Jât. ii. 77 and Mil. 138, v. 1.; *patisallāna* = pratisaṃlīna, 'secluded,' spelt with the dental, M. ii. 1, 2; *vipāṭeti* = vipâteti, 'to crush,' C. v. 11, 1, if the reading introduced by Oldenberg is correct, but perhaps we ought to stick to *vipphādetvā*, given by the manuscripts, and derive this form from visphur with change of *r* to *d*, as in some other instances given below, p. 33. *Vibhīṭaka* = vibhīṭaka, 'beleric

myrobalan,' Ab. 567, Jât. ii. 161, spelt with the dental, M. vi. 6, Att. 213; *vidaddhatâ*=*vidagdhata*, 'gallantry,' Att. 199; *unnata*=*unnata*, 'high,' Ab. 289, *unnametave*, Fausb. S. N. xi., *unnati*, ib. 158; *sanati*=*svan*, 'to sound,' Mil. 414, but *sanita*, Ab. 747, *sanantâ*, Fausb. S. N. 131. In some cases the change of the dental to the cerebral is due to the influence of a sibilant, as in most derivatives of the root *sthâ*, 'to stand,' e.g., *thâmo*=*sthâman* or *sthâmas*, 'strength,' Gr. 121, v. l., Kacc. 315, Sutta Nipâta, 34, ap. Senart, Mahâvastu, 628, spelt also *thâmo* several times (comp. Hem. iv. 267), *thâna*=*sthâna*, 'standing,' *thapeti*, caus., &c.; exceptions are *indapatta*=*indraprastha*, 'name of a town,' *majjhatta*=*madhyastha*, 'impartial,' where the aspiration is dropped besides, and *santhâgâra*=*samsthâ* + *agâra*, 'a royal rest-house,' M. vi. 31, 1, Mahâparin. 60. In derivations of the root *vas*, 'to dwell,' we find the cerebral and the dental used promiscuously. The past part. is *vuṭṭha* or *uṭṭha*, Kacc. 291; in composition *adhiṅvaṭṭha*, Jât. i. 99, *adhiṅvaṭṭha*, Mahâpar. 23, *upavuṭṭha*, Cariy. ii. 3, 2, *parivuṭṭha*, Pât. 6: for the absolutive *parivaṭṭhabba* in the same line we should adopt the reading given in the foot-note. The roots *dah* 'to burn,' and *das* 'to bite,' take the cerebral *ḍ* in those forms where there is no cerebral in the second syllable; there are, however, exceptions to this, as *dayheyya*, Mil. 84, Att. 192, 208, Dâṭh. iii. 10, *upadamseti*, Suttavibh. ii. 309; in some compositions of *dah* the *ḍ* is changed to *l*, as in *viḷayhase* (v. l. *viḷayhase* and *vidayhase*), Jât. ii. 220, *âlâhana*, 'a cemetery,' *parilâha*, 'fever, pain.'

D is often changed to *l*, as in *âlimpana*, 'light'=*âdîpana*, Mil. 43; *âlimpâpeti*, 'to kindle,' Suttavibh. i. 85; *dohala*=*dauhrîda*, 'the longing of a pregnant woman,' and *dohalinî*, Jât. ii. 395, Kacc. 203, *bila*=*viḍa*, 'part, bit,' in *bilasâ*, Kacc. 91, *bilaso*,

Kh. 30, *ulu*=*uḍu*, 'lunar mansion,' *āvelā*=*āpīḍa*, Prāk. *āmela*, Hem. i. 105, 202, 234; *koviḷāra*=*kovidāra*, 'Bauhinia variegata,' *uḷāra*=*udāra*, 'noble.' *Dh* passes into *l* in *gharagolikā*=*griha-godhikā*, 'lizard.' *N* is changed to *ḷ* in *ela*=*enas*, 'fault,' *nela*, 'faultless,' from the same, not as Trenckner suggests, from *nariya* (Childers, add. s. v.): comp. *anelaka*, Senart, Mahāvastu 572, *pilandhati*=*pinah*, 'to wear,' *piḷandhitvā*, Jât. i. 100.

Change of *d* to *y*, forming an analogy to the *ya-ṣruti* of the Jainaprākṛit, occurs in *goyāna*=*godāna*, in *Aparagoyāna*, 'name of one of the four Mahādīpas, *sāyati*, 'to taste,'=svādate, *khāyita*=*khādita*, 'eaten,' and *kāyitabba*, C. v. 34, *vikkhāyitaka*, 'one of the Asubhakammaṭṭhānas,' Kern, Buddhism, 402. *Avāhayi*, Jât. ii. 354, must be derived from the root *had*, which we have in *ohadāmase* of the following verse.

I here add those cases where *ṭ* is changed to *ḷ* and *t* to *r* without being able to decide whether we have to adopt an intermediate form with *ḍ*, *d* or not: *āḷavi*=*ātavi*, 'name of a city in India,' *āḷavika*=*ātavika*, 'dwelling in forests,' *kakkhaḷa*=*kakkhaṭa*, 'hard, solid,' Prāk. *kakkhaḍa*, Pischel, Beitr. iii. 251 (*kakkhaṭa*, Mah. 57); *kheḷa*=*kheta*, 'saliva,' in *khelāpaka*, C. vii. 3, 1=*khetātmaka* according to Kern, Buddhism, 180; *kulaṅka*=*kuṭaṅka*, 'roof,' in *kulaṅkapādaka*, C. vi. 3, 4 (v. 1. *kulunkap°*); *paḷaccara*=*paṭaccara*, 'old clothes.'

(5) *Labials*.—*P* is changed to *m* in *sumanta*=*supanta*, 'sleeping,' Mil. 368; *dhūmāyati*=*dhūpāyati*, 'to fumigate,' Jât. i. 360, Samanta Pâsâd. 315, Dīp. 83. *Bh* is changed to *m* in *dindima*=*dundubhi*, 'a drum,' *m* is changed to *v* in *vīmams*=*mīmams*, Kacc. 243.

(6) *Half-vowels*:—

(a) *Y* is often changed to *v*, as in *kīva*=*kiyant*, 'how

much; *tivaṅgika*=tryaṅgika, 'having three angas,' Saddham-mop. v. 65; *tivaṅgula*=tryaṅgula, 'triangular,' Samanta Pāsād. 336; *kaṇḍuvati*=kaṇḍūyati, 'to scratch,' Suttavibh. i. 117; *migava*=mṛigayâ, 'hunting,' M. x. 2, 15; *navutta*=nayuta, 'a large number,' Dh. 143; *sampavaṅka*=samparyāṅka, 'friend,' Mahâparinibb. 6, Feer, Etudes Bouddh. 51, Weber, Indische Streifen, iii. 397; *paṭivimsa* or *paṭivisa*, M. vii. 11, 1, C. xii. 1, 1, Suttavibh. i. 60=*pratyamṣa*, 'portion,' with *samprasâraṇa*, *vivina*=vijana, 'lonely,' Cariy. i. 1, 3; *pavecchati*, 'to give,' Jât. i. 28, Mil. 375, is identified with some hesitation to *payacchati* by Trenckner, Pâli Misc. 61. *Y* is changed to *b* in *pubba*=pûya, 'pus, matter,' *jaldâbu*=jarâyû, 'the womb,' *nibbujjhati*=niryudh, 'to struggle,' C. i. 13, 2, Suttavibh. i. 180, partic. *nibbuddha*, Gr. 9, Mil. 232; to *bh* in *sarabhû*=sarayu, 'name of a river.'

Y is changed to *r* in *kulîra*=kuliya, 'mattress,' according to Buddhaghosa, Suttavibh. ii. 40, 357, Pât. 86, spelt *kulîra*, C. vi. 2, 3; *vedhavera*=vaidhaveya, 'the son of a widow,' *sâmaṇera*=çrâmaṇeya, 'a novice,' Kacc. 188; *bâhira*=bâhya, 'external' (*bâhiya*, Jât. i. 422); *antarârati*=antarâyati, 'to run into danger.' It is changed to *l* in *latthi*=yasṭhi, 'stick,' *jotalati*=jyotayati, 'to lighten,' Kacc. 234, *upakkamâlati*=upakramâyati, 'to manœuvre,' ib. 235; to *h* in *nahuta*=nayuta, 'a vast number,' *raṇaṅjaka*=raṇaṅjaya, 'victorious in the battle,' Mil. 21, Trenckner, Pâli Misc. 83, *sahampati*=svayam-pati, 'epithet of Brahmâ,' M. i. 5, 5, Vinaya Texts, i. 86, *upaṭṭhâhaka*=upaṭṭhâyaka, C. i. 18, 5. *Y* is changed to *j* (as in Prâkṛit, see E. M. Beitrage zur Gramm. d. Jainaprâk. p. 31) in *jantâghara*, *jantaggha*=yantragṛiha, 'bath-room,' Oldenberg K. Z. xxv. 325.

(b) *Y* is changed to *y* in *dâya*=dâya, 'forest' *dâyapâla*, M.

x. 4, 2, comp. Senart, Mahāvastu, 633, *lāyati*, 'to reap,' Jât. i. 215, and *lāyeti*, Suttavibh. i. 64 = *lāveti*, *chāya* = *çāva*, 'the young of an animal,' Ten Jât. iii. (generally *chāpa*), *caccara* = *catvara*, 'a courtyard,' through an intermediate *catyara*. *V* is changed to *b* in *paribbasāna*, 'abiding,' from *vas*, Fausb. S. N. xii. 152; *vārabāṇa* = *vāravāṇa*, 'a woman's jacket,' *sibbana*, 'sewing,' = *sīvana*, and *sibbinī*, 'a needle,' M. viii. 1, 18, comp. Prāk. *sivvinī*, Pischel Beitr. iii. 260 (most probably from false analogy of *sibbati* = *sīvyate*, 'to sew'); *subbaco* = *suvacas*, 'compliant,' *subbutṭhi* = *suvṛiṣṭi*, 'abundance of rain,' *thabaka* = *stavaka*, 'a cluster of blossoms,' *balibadda* = *balivarda*, 'an ox,' *sambāhati* = *saṃvāḥ*, 'to shampoo,' Jât. i. 293, Suttavibh. i. 83; *sāribā* = *çārivā*, 'name of a plant,' *kabala* = *kavala*, 'mouthful,' *kabaḷikā* = *kavalikā*, 'compress,' M. vi. 14, 5.

V is hardened to *p* in *lāpa* = *lāva*, 'quail,' Jât. ii. 59; *pajāpati* = *prajāvatī*, 'wife,' *petṭāpiya* = *pitṛivya*, 'cousin,' Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 62; *palāpa* = *palāva*, 'chaff,' *chāpa* = *çāva*, 'the young of an animal,' *opilāpeti*, 'to sink,' M. iv. 1, 3, vi. 26, 6, according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 63, from *plu* (Childers, add. derives it from *pīḍ*); *avāpurati*, 'to open' *apāpuṇanti amatassa*, *dvāraṃ*, It. 84, v. 2, and *pāpurati* or *pārupati*, 'to dress,' from *var*; *apadāna* = *avadāna*, 'legend,' and also *sapadānaṃ*, 'regularly,' (Trenckner, Mil. 428, derives it from *sapadi* + *ayana*, which I do not quite understand) = *sa* + *avadāna*, according to Senart, Mahāvastu, 595; *supāṇa* = *suvāṇa*, 'dog,' Mil. 147; *dhopana* = *dhovana*, 'cleaning,' Jât. ii. 117; *sipāṭikā* = *çivāṭikā*, M. vi. 7. C. v. 11, 2, 27, 3 (in the two latter passages, however, it seems to have another meaning—Buddhaghosa explains it by *kosaka*, 'a sheath').

(7) Liquids:—

The change of *r* to *l* is frequent enough in Pāli, although not

quite so frequent as in some other Indian dialects, especially the Mâgadhi of the inscriptions. Instances are *ludda*=rudra, 'dreadful,' Trenckner, Pâli Misc. 59; *lujjati*=ruj, 'to break,' M. viii. 21, 1 (Dhm. vinâse), and its compound *paiujjati*, M. iii. 5, 9, Mahâparinibb. 40; *paloka*, 'the necessity of dissolution,' ib.; *sajjulasā*=sarjarasa, 'resin,' M. vi. 7; *elâluka*=ervâruka, 'cucumber,' Jât. i. 205, 312; *elanḍa*=eraṇḍa, 'Ricinus,' Assalâyanasutta 35; *salala*=sarala, 'a flower,' Jât. i. 13; *puthuloma*=prithuroman, 'a fish;' the preposition *pari* in *palibodha*, 'hindrance,' which, according to Childers, is the result of a confusion between *parirodha* and *paribâdha*; *palibuddhati*, 'to hinder,' *paligha*=parigha, 'an iron beam;' *paligedha*, a compound of *gedha*, 'greed,' Ang. ii. 4, 7 (it has nothing to do with the Sinhalese pali, 'reverend,' in the Tissamahârâma inscription); *palipanna*=paripanna, 'covered,' M. viii. 26, 1; *paligunṭhita*, 'entangled' (also spelt *palikunḍhita*, Jât. ii. 92); *pâligunṭhima*, 'laced,' M. v. 2, 3; *palivetheti*=pariveshṭi, 'to wrap up,' *phâlibhadda*, Jât. ii. 163 = pâribhadra, 'the coral tree,' Prâk. *phâlihadda*, Hem. i. 232, 254; *sukhumâla*=sukumâra, 'youthful,' by amalgamation with sukhuma, Trenckner 66; *agalu*=aguru, 'Agallochum;' *vâla*=vâr, 'water;' *kaṭuḷa*=kaṭura, 'buttermilk,' M. vi. 17, 1, Suttavibh. i. 66.

R is changed to *d* in *purindada*=purandara, 'a name of Iudra,' also written *purinda*, Cariy. i. 9, 3, *sâranda*, 'name of a yakka,' Mahâparin. 4; it is changed to *y* in *sâyanîya*=sâraṇîya, according to Senart Mahâvastu 599 (see above, p. 21), *mâtyâ*, *petyâ*=mâtrâ, pitrâ, Jât. 527, v. 3, 5, 528, v. 26, Trenckner, Pâli Misc. 56.

L is changed to *r* in *âkurati*, from *âkula*, 'troubled;' the Dh. v. 94 has a verb *kura saddâdanesu*, which possibly may be identical with *âkurati*, although it is not known from any

other text; *kira* = *kila*, 'they say;' *ārammana* = *ālabhana*, 'support,' *arañjara* = *aliñjara*, 'water-jar.'

L is changed to *n* in *nalāṭa* = *lalāṭa*, 'forehead;' *naṅgala* = *lāṅgala*, 'plough;' *naṅgula* = *lāṅgula*, 'tail;' *dehaṇī* = *dehaḷī*, 'threshold;' *tintinī* = *tintilī*, 'the tamarind tree,' comp. *tintin-anta*, Jāt. i. 243.

(8) Sibilants:—

As there is only one sibilant in Pāli, *ṣ* and *śh* are also represented by *s*. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule: *ṣ* is represented by *ch* in *chava* = *ṣava*, 'corpse,' M. iii. 12, 7, and as an adjective 'vile,' *chāpa* and *chāya*, 'the young of an animal,' *cheppā* = *ṣepa*, 'tail;' it is represented by *ḍ* in *ḍāka* = *ṣāka*, 'pot-herb,' M. vi. 35, 6; 36, 8.

H sometimes returns to its original medial aspirate, and this gives us Pāli forms which are older than the corresponding ones in Saṃskṛit: the root *naḥ* in composition with *api*, *ava*, *upa*, *vi*, gives *pilandhati*, *onandhati*, *upanandhati*, *vinandhati*; these forms show us that the original form of the root was *nadh* and not *nagh*, as one would feel inclined to think from comparing the Latin *necto*, (see Whitney's Saṃskṛit Grammar, p. 76.) Similar forms are *agghati*, 'to cast,' compared with *arahati*, *dubbhati*, 'to cheat,' = *druh*, Jāt. i. 267, iii. 13, 192, and the adjectives belonging to the same root, *dūbhin*, Jāt. ii. 386, *dūbhaka*, Jāt. i. 363; *adrūbhāya*, 'truly, without falsehood,' M. x. 2, 17; *ghammati* = *hammati*, 'to go,' Naigh. 2, 14, Prāk. *hammaī*, Hem. iv. 162, Hāla 694, *ghañña*, 'destruction,' from *han*; the root *har* is found in its older form in *saṃgharitaḍḍa* v. l. to *saṃgharitaḍḍa*, M. i. 25, 10. Dh. 143.

A curious change of *h* to *s* occurs in *senesika* = *snaihika*, 'oily,' M. vi. 1, 4, and *golisa* = *goliha*, 'name of a plant.'

§ 9. General Remarks referring to Consonants of Different Classes.

(1) Aspiration is very frequent in Pāli with hard and soft consonants. Instances are: *satthi*=çakti, 'ability,' *dhona*=drona, 'a measure of capacity,' Dh. 43, Fausb. S. N. 58, 149; *sukhumāla*=sukumāra, 'youthful;' *thambhakari*=stambakari, 'rice;' *kiñcikkha*=kiñcid + ka, 'some trifle;' *khaḷopi*=karoti, 'pot,' Mil. 107, according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 60 (also spelt *kalopi*); *Khandha*=Skanda, 'the god Skanda,' through confusion with *khandha*, 'shoulder;' *paccaggha*=pratyagra, 'new;' *phāliphulla*, 'in full blossom,' Jāt. i. 52, Mahāparin. 53; *phālibhadda*=pāribhadra, Jāt. ii. 163; *phāsu*, 'agreeable,'=prāçu according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 81—I have derived it, following Paul Goldschmidt, from a hypothetical form smarçu (see my contrib. to Sinh. Gr. p. 13, note); *phāsukā*=pārçukā, 'a rib,' also written *pāsukā*, C. x. 10, 1; *phussa*=pushya, 'name of a month,' and *phussita*=pushpita, 'blossoming;' *phārusaka*=parūsaka, 'Grewia Asiatica,' M. vi. 35, 6; *phalu*=paru, 'joint;' *phallava*=pallava, 'sprout,' Jāt. iii. 40; *sañkhalikā*=sañkalikā, 'heap,' Jāt. i. 433, Suttavibh. i. 105, Ang. p. 114, through confusion with sañkhalikā, 'chain,' Senart, Mahāvastu 387; the reverse process is found in Prāk., where çrinkhala is changed to saṃkala, according to Hem. i. 189; *vaḷabhāmukha*=vaḍabāmukha, *erāpatha*=airāvata, 'king of the Nāgas,' Jāt. ii. 145=C. v. 6, spelt *erapatta* Saddhammopāyana v. 349, *erakapatta*, Dh. 344; *āpātha*=āpāta, 'path,' Trenckner, Mil. 298, M. v. 1, 25, Samanta Pās. 300; *sunakha*, 'dog,' and *lāmakha*, 'vile,' Jāt. ii. 430, are most probably older forms, as

we have the aspiration also in Prâk. *suṇaho*, Hem. i. 52, Pischel Beitr. vi. 92.

(2) The aspiration is dropped in *khudā*=*kshudhā*, 'hunger'; *khudita*, 'hungry'; *upādisesa*=*upadhiṣeṣa* (and with change of the position of the component parts *sesopādi*, Dâṭh. ii. 36), Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 437, ff.; *maṭṭa*=*mṛiṣṭa*, 'polished'; *abhivaṭṭa*=*abhivṛiṣṭa*, 'wet from rain,' Mil. 176; *anovatta*, Jât. i. 18; *paṭaṅga*=*phaṇḍiṅga*, 'flying insect'; *paggava*=*phalgava*, from *phalgu*, 'herb,' Jât. ii. 105; *anaṅgaṇa*, 'free from impurity,' compared with *añhas*, 'sin,' Jainaprâk. *anaṇhaya* (E. M. Beitr. p. 33); *rajoṇajalla* and *rajojalla*, Ass. S. 13, Jât. i. 390, 'dust and dirt,'=*rajas*+*jhallā*, comp. Jainapr. *jalla*, E. M. Beitr. 34; *āvajjeti*=*avadhyā*, 'to reflect,' Senart, Mahāvastu 377; a curious instance of dropped aspiration is *kā*, Jât. ii. 258=*khā*, 'spring,' Naigh., and perhaps we have to notice the same process in *kakkāreti*, 'to express disgust,' Jât. ii. 105, Five Jât. 29,=*khāt* or *khāt*+*kāreti*, which, however, might be also derived, with Childers, from *kāt*+*kāreti*. As in Greek, two aspirations are not allowed in two syllables following each other, and when this happens the first is dropped, as, e.g., *nikkaddhati*=*nishkrish*, 'to cast out.'

(3) There are also instances where the aspirate drops its first part and *h* alone remains, as is done frequently in Sanskrit and later on in all the vernaculars. I believe, however, that a number of instances, especially those with *bh*, are only due to the bad writing of the Sinhalese, in whose alphabet *h* and *bh* are so easily confounded; M. i. 1, 3, four MSS. have the form *have*, but Buddhaghosa reads *bhave*, which shows us clearly the etymology of the word; the same process can be observed in the form *hupeyya*, M. i. 6, 9 (according to Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 62, a Burmese error for *huveyya*). Other instances

are *momuhato* from *momugha*, 'foolish,' Fausb. S. N. 161, *ruhira* = *rudhira*, 'blood,' Jât. i. 274, ii. 276, Cariy. i. 9, 13, C. vii. 3, 9; at Bhikkhunîpâc. 60, Minayeff, p. 108, reads *ruhita*, the Suttavibh. ii. 316 *râhita* with the v. l. *rudhita*, 'boil.' *Suhita*, Jât. xx. 1, 4, quoted by Minayeff, § 43, is = Skt. *suhita* and not *sukhita*.

(4) Softening of a hard consonant, that is to say, substitution of a sonant for a surd, is frequent enough in Pâli, as in *pasada*=*prishata*, 'the spotted antelope,' Cariy. iii. 13, 2; *uda*=*uta*, 'or;' *ruda*=*ruta*, 'cry,' Jât. i. 207 (comp. ii. 388, where we have the readings *rûda* and *rûta*); *kalandaka*=*kalandaka*, 'squirrel;' *paṭigacca* = *paṭikaacca* (v. l.) from *paṭikaroti*, 'to provide against future events,' M. i. 31, 1, Trenckner at Mil. 48, 421; *vedhati*=*vyathayati*, 'to tremble;' *balasata*=*parasvant*, 'rhinoceros,' Trenckner, P. M. 59; *sujā*=*sruc*, 'a ladle;' *puñj* for *puñch*=*proñch*, 'to wipe,' Jât. i. 47, 318, 352. A certain instance of this change is in my opinion *jhāyati*=*kshā*, 'to burn,' although Trenckner, P. M. 65, objects; I have found several new forms of this verb and its causative *jhāpeti* or *jhapeti*, in addition to those given by Childers: *jhatvā*, Jât. ii. 262 (Comm. *kilametvā*); *jhatta*, Mah. 146, Dh. 325; *nijhatta*, Mil. 209, and most probably also *jāpeti*, Mil. 171, which seems to be a misprint; comp. *nijhapeti*, 'to injure,' in Açoka's pillar edict, no. iv. Cunningham, p. 112; Kern, Ind. Ant. v. 273; Prāk. *jhijjai*, Hem. ii. 3.

Instead of *p* we generally find *v* in this case, as in *āvelā*=*āpīḍa*, 'garland;' *theva*=*stēpa*, 'drop,' Pischel Beitr. iii. 239, vi. 102 (Hem. ii. 125 derives it from *stoka*); *posāvana*, 'supporting,' according to Childers=*posāpāna*; *vyāvata*=*vyāpīṭa*, 'covered,' Trenckner, P. M. 63, and *veyyāvacca*, *veyyāvataika*, 'service.'

(5) The reverse process, hardening of a soft consonant, or substitution of a surd for a sonant, occurs in *páyāka*=*prāyāga*, 'sacrifice,' Jât. 543; *ajakara*=*ajagara*, 'the boa constrictor,' Jât. iii. 484; *kilāsu*=*glāsu*, 'lazy,' Suttavibh. i. 8; *kaṭupika*, 'going up to the waist,' Jât. 119, compared with *kaṭupaga*, Suttavibh. ii. 340; *dūrūpaka*, Jât. ii. 167; *kulupika*, C. x. 13, 1; *samsati* for *samsadi*, loc. of *samsad*, 'congregation,' Jât. iii. 493, 495; *parisati* and *parisatim*, loc. of *parishad*, Suttavibh. ii. 285; *kusīta* for *kusīda*, 'lazy,' already in the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*; *pīpa*=*piba*, 'drink,' Jât. i. 459; *pokkharasātaka*=*pushakarasādaka*, 'name of a bird,' *dhopana*=*dhovana*, 'washing,' Jât. ii. 117; *laketi*=*lageti*, 'to stick,' and *lakanaka*, 'anchor,' Mil. 377; *thaketi*=*sthaḡayati*, 'to cover,' sometimes spelt *thakk*^o, Suttavibh. ii. 54; *palikka*=*paligha*, 'an iron beam,' Jât. 545; *chakala*=*chagala*, 'goat,' Suttavibh. i. 166; *chakana*=*chagana*, 'dung,' M. vi. 9; *palikunṭhita*=*parigunṭhita*, 'entangled,' Jât. ii. 92; *pabbaja*=*balvaja*, 'reed' (spelt *babbaja*, Suttavibh. i. 90); *pappata*=*parvata*, 'mountain,' I. O. C. 104; *tippa* for *tibba*=*tivra*, 'sharp,' Mil. 148; *tuvamtuva*, 'quarrel'=*dvandva*, through confusion with the pronoun *tvam*; *pāceti*=*pra+aj*, 'to drive,' and *pācana*, 'a goad,' Cariy. i. 1, 1; *sateratā*=*çatahradā*, 'lightning,' *jaṇṇu-taggha*=*jānudaghna*, 'knee-deep,' Prāk. ^othaggha, Pāiyal. 249; *Yamataggi*=*Jamadagni*, 'name of a ṛishi,' *vipātikā*=*vipādikā*, 'abscess on the foot.' The root *dhā* in some derivations substitutes *th*, as *pithīyati*, 'is covered'=*apidhiyate* (for which the Burmese write *pidhiyati*); *upatkeyya*, 'cushion.' A similar process with regard to the root *dhmā* can be observed in *santhamam*=*sandhaman*, 'blowing,' Jât. i. 122.

(6) An interchange between the different classes of mutes is not infrequent in Pāli. Instances are *kipillika*=*pipīlika*, 'an ant,' also written *pipīlika*, *Saddhammopāyana*, v. 23.

pipillika, Jât. i. 202; *takkola* = *kakkola*, 'Bdellium,' Jât. i. 291, also used as name of a country, Mil. 359, where it most probably corresponds to Skt. *Karkoṭa*; *jalūpikā* = *jalūkikā*, 'a leech,' Mil. 407, originally *jalauka*, 'living in the water;' *khajjopanaka* = *khadyota*, 'the fire-fly,' Dh. 338, Dāṭh. iii., 78; *gaddūhana* = *dadrūghna*, 'a small measure of space or time,' Trenckner, P. M. 89; *kaḷopi* = *karoti* (written *khāḷopi*, Mil. 107, Ab. 456), 'a pot;' *ālupa* = *āluka*, 'ebony,' Jât. 446, v. 1; *chiggala* = *chidra + la*, 'hole,' Childers, s. v. *tāla*, *Pakudha* = *Kakudha*, C. v. 8, 1. In most of these cases the reason of the change is dissimilation, as we find it also in *phāsulikā* = *pār-çukā + ika*, 'a rib,' M. i. 61, 1; *sallālikata* = *çalyakīṛita*, 'pierced,' Jât. i. 180. Other instances are not quite so easy to explain, such as *rumbh* for *rudh* in *sannirumbhitvā*, Jât. i. 62, 80, 163, ii. 6 (v. l. *sannirujjhivā*), comp. Fausböll, Ten Jât. 93, and *sakk* if this is really = *sarp*, as Trenckner, P. M. 60, believes; perhaps we ought to derive it from *caṅkram* with a similar abbreviation of the reduplicated root, as in *jaggati* for *jāgarati*, but I give this merely as a hypothesis. The change of *c* to *s* would make no difficulty; the dissimilation adduced by Trenckner does not hold good for all instances, as in *osakkati*, *ussakkati*, *nissakkati*, *visakkiya*, Suttavibh. i. 74, we have no *p* in the prepositions; comp. also Prāk. *osakka*, 'departed,' Pāiyal. 178. *Khāṇu*, 'the stump of a tree,' is rightly referred to Skt. *sthāṇu* by the Prāk. grammarians Vararuci and Hemacandra, and the same change of *sth* to *kh* is also adopted for the explanation of *duḥkha* = *duḥstha* by Jacobi K. Z. xxv. 438 ff., comp. Ascoli 236. *Chambhati* is derived from *stambh*, 'to tremble,' by Trenckner; Ascoli, p. 256, rejects this derivation, but does not suggest any other instead. From the Sanskrit of the northern Buddhists we might compare *icchatam* = *itthattam* 'existence,' Mahāvastu, 417.

§ 10. Consonants Added or Dropped.

A consonant is dropped in the beginning of a word in *ûkā* or *ûka* = *yûka*, 'louse,' Prāk. *ûkā*, Pischel Beitr. iii. 241.

A consonant is added at the beginning of some verbal forms commencing with a *u*, which originates from Samprasâraṇa, as in *vuccati* = *ucyate*, *vutta* = *upta*, 'sown,' Mil. 375; *vuṭṭha* and *vusita* from *vasati*, 'to dwell'; *vusīmat*, 'accomplished,' Fausböll, S. N. 208. This euphonic *v* is not only used after vowels but also after anusvâra, and sometimes even at the beginning of a line, as in *vuṭṭhahante*, Mah. 30. Where the *u* is long, we have to assume two prepositions, as in *vûpasamati* = *vyupa*^o, comp. Senart, Mahâvastu, p. 441, and the same where the *v* is followed by *o*, as in *vokkamati* = *vyutkram*^o, Hem. i. 116; and Pischel's remarks, *avossajimsu*, Dâṭh. iii. 15.

In the middle of a word consonants are often elided through Samprasâraṇa. The syllable *ya* is contracted to *i* in *mahâbodhiṅgana* = *mahâbodhyaṅgana*, 'the yard of the great Bo tree,' Mah. 176; *paṭivimsa* or *paṭivisa*, 'portion,' = *pratyamṣa*; *aticchatha*, 'go further on,' from *ati* + *acch*; *nibbijjhati* = *nirvyadh*, 'to pierce,' *saccika* = *satyaka*, 'true,' Mil. 226; *pattiya* = *pratyaya* and *pattiyāyati*, 'to believe,' Jât. i. 426 v. l.; it is contracted to *e* in *vedhati* = *vyath*, 'to tremble,' to *i* in *vītivatta* = *vyativṛitta*, 'having passed,' *avīvadāta* = *avyava-dāta*, 'confused,' Fausböll, S. N. 149; *vītihāra* = *vyatihāra*, 'long step.'

The syllable *yā* is contracted to *i* in *visīveti* = *viçyāpayati*, 'to warm oneself,' sometimes written *visibbeti* through confusion with *visibbati*, 'to unsew,' e. g., M. i. 20, 15 Pât. 15, Suttavibh. ii. 115; from the same root *āsīyati* = *âçyāyati*, 'to

cool oneself,' Mil. 75; *thína* = *styâna*, 'idleness,' but *pa-tthinna*, 'stiff,' M. viii. 11, 2; to *i* in *anabhijjhita* = *anabhi-dhyâta*, 'not coveted,' M. viii. 12, 2, where, however, the *y* is also contained in the group *jjh*; to *e* in *jeyyo* = *jyâyas*, 'better,' *ajjheyyaka* = *âdhyâyaka*, 'teacher,' *Rasavâhinî* 19.

The syllable *va* is contracted to *u* in *supina* = *svapna*, 'sleep;' *turita* = *tvarita*, 'hasty;' *kuthita*, 'cooked,' from *kvath*, *Vinaya* texts, ii. 57; it remains doubtful whether the root *kuth*, 'to be distressed,' Dh. Mil. 250, *Suttav.* i. 108, is the same; Dh. 155 we have *koddhetvâ*, 'having cooked;' to *o* in *sobbhânu* = *svarbhânu*, 'the ascending node;' *sobbha* = *çvabhra*, 'hole,' and *kussobbha*, 'small water,' *Fausböll*, S. N. 131; to *û* in *catûha* = *catu + ahan*, 'four days,' M. i. 72, 2.

The syllable *vâ* is contracted to *u* in *laṭukikâ* from *laṭvâka*, 'quail;' the syllable *vi* in *duratta* = *dvirâtra*, 'two nights.' *Dohaḥinî*, which *Kacc.* 203 also considers as a compound of *dvi*, has nothing to do with this numeral.

Aya and *ayi* are contracted to *e* in a great number of causative verbs and also in a few primitives, as *apasseti* = *apâçrayati*, 'to lean,' C. vi. 20, 2; *neti* = *nayati*, 'to lead;' *apassena* = *apâçrayana*; *ajjhena* = *adhyayana*, 'reading,' *Jât.* iii. 114, *Fausböll*, S. N. 40; *acceka* = *atyayika*, 'accidental.' *Aya* and *âya* are contracted to *e* in *paleti* = *palâyati*, 'to flee;' to *â* in *Kâtiyânî* and *Kaccânî* = *Kâtyâyânî*, *Jât.* iii. 427; *Moggallâna* = *Maudgalyâyana*, *ekânika* = *ekâyanika*, Mil. 402; *upaṭṭhâka* = *upaṭṭhâyaka*, 'servant,' also written *upaṭṭhaka* with *â*, Bv. ii. 70; *patisallâna* = *pratisaṃlayana*, 'solitude;' *abbhâna* = *abhyayana*, 'rehabilitation;' *upajjha* = *upâdhyâya*, 'preceptor;' *abhiññâ* = *abhiññâya*, 'having known;' *paṭisaṅkhâ* = *pratisaṅkhyâya*, 'having reflected.'

The group *ariya* is first changed to *ayira* and then contracted

to *era* in *âcêra* = âcârya, 'teacher,' Khuddasikkhâ; or to *îra*, as in *parihîrati* = pariharyati; *asamkîra* = asamharya, 'unconquerable,' Dîp. 31.

Iya is contracted to *i* in *kittaka* = kiyattaka, from kiyant, 'how much;' to *e* in *etta*, *ettaka* = iyatta, from iyant, Mahâvastu, p. 384; in Prâk. we have kettia and ettia, Hem. ii. 157, Goldschmidt, Prâkritica, p. 23. Trenckner takes *etta* to be abridged from *ettaka*, Pâli Misc. 65, note 23.

Ava is contracted to *o* very often in compounds formed with the preposition *ava*, as *onîta* = avanîta, 'cleansed,' in the phrase *onîtapattapâni*, frequent in the Vinaya, see Vinaya Texts i. 83; *ojahati* = avahâ, 'to forsake,' aorist passive *ohiyi*, Dh. 158, *ohiyaka*, 'left behind,' Suttavibh. i. 208; *odahati* = avadhâ, 'to deposit,' *vossagga* = vyavasarga, Lotus, 312, and *avossajjimsu*, Dâth. iii. 15; *ogadha* = avagâdha, 'belonging to;' *ora* = avara and avâra, 'lower' and 'hither;' *opatta* = avapattra, 'without leaves,' Jât. iii. 496; *uddosita* = udavasita, 'stable,' M. iii. 5, 9, C. x. 24, Suttavibh. i. 200, Ab. 213. Other instances are *pahonaka* = prabhavanaka, 'sufficient,' and *pâhuna* = prabhavana, Mah. 205; *poṇa* = pravaṇa, 'sloping;' *opeti* = âvapati, 'to put,' Trenckner, Pâli Misc. 78; *osâpeti* causative of âviç, 'to sling,' Jât. i. 25. In *anavaya* = anavayava, 'perfectly versed in,' Mil. 10, and *appatissa* = appatissava, Jât. i. 217, the last syllable is dropped because the word was too long.

Instead of *o* we also find *u* in the same or similar cases, as *âhadati* = avabad, 'to befoul with excrement' (see above, p. 15); *ujjhâyati* = avadhyâ, 'to be annoyed;' *uññâ* = avajñâ, 'contempt,' and *uññâtabba*, Feer. Et. Bouddh. 128; *âhuneyya* = âhavanîya, Mahâparin. 20 comp. the commentary to Ang. ii. 4, 4.

The group *apa* can undergo the same changes as *ava*, and it

is sometimes difficult to find out which preposition we must assume as the corresponding Samskrit word: *ovaraka*=*apavaraka*, 'store-room,' Jât. i. 391; *oggata*=*apagata* in *oggate suriye*, 'after sunset,' Suttavibh. ii. 268, *ottappa*=*apatrâpya*, 'fear of sinning,' Senart, Mahâvastu 463.

Other contractions have taken place in *oka*=*udaka*, 'water;' *Kuṇinârâ*=*Kuṇinagara*; *koṭṭhaka*=*koṇasṭhika*, 'paddy bird,' Five Jât. 36; *jantaggha*=*yantragṛiha*, 'bath-room,' Suttavibh. i. 55; *paccûsamaya*=*paccûsasamaya*, 'morning;' *chaṅgula*=*śaḍaṅgula*, 'six inches,' Mah. 211; *pavissâmi* for *pavisissâmi*, Jât. ii. 68; *sosârîta*=*su* + *osârîta*; *dosârîta*=*durosârîta*, 'duly and unduly restored,' M. ix. 4, 11; *vivicchâ*=*vicikicchâ*, 'doubt;' *dûpadhârîta*=*durupadh°*, Suttavibh. ii. 275, the opposite to *sûpadhârîta*, 'well kept in mind,' M. v. 13, 9.

Metathesis is very frequent in Sinhalese, see my Contrib. to Sinh. Grammar, p. 14; in Pâli we have only a few instances, as *upâhanâ*=*upânah*, 'shoe;' *pârupana* for *pâvaraṇa* or *pâvurana*, Suttavibh. i. 180, 'upper robe,' see Pischel, Beitr. iii. 247; *kaṣaṭa*=*sakaṭa*, 'insipid,' Mil. 119, Dh. 275, Jât. ii. 97, Ang. ii. 5, 5; *cilimikâ*, C. vi. 2, 6 and *cimilikâ*, Suttavibh. ii. 40, most probably go back to a form *cilamîlikâ* or *ciliminikâ*, 'an ornament,' Vyut. 208, comp. Vinaya texts ii. 153.

§ 11. Changes of Consonants at the End of a Word.

According to the rule given above, p. 23, we only find vowels or nasals at the end of a Pâli word. Every nasal is changed into anusvâra and a preceding long vowel shortened in consequence. Very often the anusvâra is dropped altogether especially in verse when a short syllable is required by the

metre, as *etam, buddhāna sāsanaṃ* = *etad buddhānāṃ ṇāsa-*
nam, 'this is the command of the Buddhas,' Dh. v. 183.
 Other cases will be treated of in the chapter on Sandhi.

Before a word beginning with a consonant the anusvāra can be changed into the nasal of the corresponding class, as in *hirin tarantaṃ*, Jât. iii. 196. Before a word beginning with a vowel the anusvāra may be changed into *m*, as in *caram atandito* for *caran*=*carant*, Dh. v. 305.

The termination *as* generally becomes *o* whatever the consonant beginning the next word may be, as in the nom. sing. of *a*—stems almost regularly. There are a few exceptions to this rule which are considered as Māgadhisms by most grammarians. A passage of this kind occurs in the Sāmaññaphalasutta Gr. p. 121, *n'atthi attakāre n'atthi parakāre n'atthi purisakāre*, 'there is no action on our part, there is no action on the part of others, there is no human action.' Another Māgadhizing passage from Majjhima Nikāya is quoted by Trenckner, Pāli Misc. p. 75: *ānañjādhimuttassa purisapuggalassa ye lokāmisasaññojane sevante*, where we find the *e* used for a neuter noun. I feel sure that a more careful study of Pāli literature will furnish us a great many more passages of this kind. They all agree in this point, that the nom. in *e* is only formed of stems in *a* and never of any consonantal stems, the same rule which holds good for the Jainaprākṛit, see E. M. Beitr. zur Gram. d. Jainapr. p. 38. About the origin of this *e* several opinions have been advanced, but I will not discuss them here, as the subject belongs more especially to Prākṛit grammar. The vocatives *bhante* and *bhikkhave* are taken over directly from the Māgadhī.

Besides these nominatives in *e* we have several adverbs terminating in *as*, which change the *as* to *e*, as *suve*=*çvaḥ*, 'to-morrow'; *tadahe*=*tadahas*, 'on that day,' which also occurs in

the form *tadahu*; *atippage* (and *atippago*) = *atiprâgaḥ*, Senart, *Mahāvastu* 418, most probably also *tāvade*, *yāvade*, which, however, are explained by Childers as abridged forms of *tāva-deva*, *yāvadeva*.

The *s* is dropped and the *a* alone remains in *okamokata* for *okamokatas*, 'from the water,' Dh. v. 34; *tāvatimsa* = *traya-strimṣa*, 'thirty-three;' and with lengthening of the *a*, *rajā-patha* = *rajaḥpatha*, 'dust-hole;' *jarāmaraṇa* = *jaras* + *marāṇa*, 'decay and death.'

The syllable *as* is changed to *u* through an intermediate *o* in *tadahu*, *mithu* = *mithas*, 'mutually;' *mithubheda*, M. vi. 28, 8; *sajju* = *sadyas*, 'instantly.'

Other consonants at the end of a word are simply dropped, and the remaining vowel generally is not changed. There are, however, some cases where it is lengthened, shortened, or a nasal is added:—

(1) It is lengthened in *dhī* = *dhik*, 'fie;' *brahā* = *bṛihat*, 'mighty;' *parisā* = *parishad*, 'assembly.'

(2) It is shortened, as in *kayira* for *kayirā* = *kuryât*, Das., Jât. 28; *assa* = *syât*, &c.

(3) A nasal is added, as in the verbal terminations *um* = *us*, *eyyum* = *eyyus*, *isum* = *ishus*, *sanam* = *sanat*, 'always;' *sanim* = *ṣanais*, 'slowly' or 'quickly,' Mah. 156; *visum* = *vishvak*, 'separately;' *khattum* = *kṛitvas*, a form which occurs also in the Samskrit of the northern Buddhists, see Senart, *Mahāvastu* 541; *manam* = *manâk*, 'nearly,' Jât. i. 149, M. ii. 12, 1, the same form in Prâk. Hem. ii. 169; *tiriyam* = *tiryak*, 'across.'

§ 12. Compound Consonants.

Compound consonants are generally assimilated, as in all Prākṛit dialects. Sometimes the assimilation is avoided by inserting a vowel, as we have seen above, p. 12. In the beginning of a word, instead of a double surd or sonant resulting from assimilation, a single surd or sonant is written, and instead of a surd or sonant aspirate only the aspirate.

The assimilation is generally progressive, so that the first consonant is assimilated to the second, especially so with explosives.

Kt becomes *tt* in *mutta*=mukta, 'released' (but *kk* in *paṭi-mukka*, 'fixed'); *satti*=çakti, 'power' (also written *satthi*); *sattu*=çaktu, 'barley' (also written *satthu* at Pât. 89); *sippi* 'pearl oyster,' which Trenckner, Pâli Misc. 60, identifies with *çukti*, I believe to be borrowed from some vernacular language.

Kth becomes *tth*, as *satthi*=çakthi, 'thigh.'

Gdh becomes *ddh*, as in *duddha*=dugdha, 'milk.'

G + bh=*bbh*: *pabbhâra*=prâggbhâra, 'a cave.'

Ḍ + g=*gg*: *khagga*=khaḍga, 'a sword.'

T + k=*kk*: *ukkâra*=utkâra, 'dung.'

T + p=*pp*: *uppatati*=utpat, 'to jump.'

D + g=*gg*: *puggala*=pudgala, 'individual.'

D + gh=*ggh*: *uggharati*=ud + ghṛi, 'to ooze.'

D + b=*bb*: *bubbula*=budbuda, 'a bubble.'

D + bh=*bbh*: *ubbhijjati*=ud + bhid, 'to burst'; *ubbhītodaka*=udbhītodaka, Gr. 140.

P + t=*tt*: *vutta*=upta, 'shaven.'

B + j=*jj*: *paṭikujjeti*=prati + kubj, 'to cover,' Jât. i. 50, 69, Mahâparin. 56, Mahâvastu 377.

$B + d = dd$: *sadda* = çabda, 'a sound.'

$B + dh = ddh$: *laddha* = labdha, 'taken.'

When an explosive meets a following nasal the assimilation is generally retrogressive, or is avoided by the insertion of a vowel. There are, however, some instances also of progressive assimilation:—

$K + n$ becomes *kk* in *sakkoti* or *sakkuṇāti* (where the double *k* can only be explained by false analogy) = çaknoti, 'to be able,' *kukkusa* = kiknasa, 'grain,' C. x. 27, 4.

$K + m = mm$: *rummavatī* = rukmavatī, 'name of a verse,' Vuttod. ap. Fryer, Pāli Studies, p. 8.

$G + n = gg$ in *aggi* or *aggini* = agni, 'fire,' Kacc. 54, Jāt. iii. 320; gini, S. N. 3.

$Gh + n = ggh$: *viggha* = vighna, 'obstacle.'

$J + n = ññ$: *aññā* = ājñā, 'order.' [In *oñāta* and *avañāta* = avajāta, 'low born,' Pāt. 83, and *kolañña* = kulaja, 'high born,' Mil. 256, the roots *jan* and *jñā* are confounded.]

$D + m$: *kuḍumala* = kuḍmala, 'a bud.'

$T + n$: *sapatthī* = sapatthī, 'hostile,' but *gahapatānī* = gṛihapatnī, 'house-wife,' *ratana* = ratna, 'jewel.'

$T + m$: *attā* and *ātumā* = ātmā, 'self;' *tumo* = tmanā, Oldenberg K. Z. xxv. 319.

$Th + n = tth$: *abhimatthati* = abhimatthnāti, 'to grind.'

$D + m$: *chadda* = chadman, 'roof;' *paduma* = padma, 'lotus;' *dammi* = dadmi, 'I give.'

$Dh + n$: *bunda* = budhna, 'the root of a tree.'

$Dh + m$: *idhuma* = idhma, 'fire-wood;' *veṇudhama* = veṇudhma, 'a flute-player;' and from the same root *uddhumāyati* = uddhmā, 'to be blown up.'

$P + n$: *pappoti* and *pāpunaṭi* = prāpnoti, 'to obtain;' *supina* and *soppa* = svapna, 'sleep.'

P+m: *pāpimā*=*pāpman*, 'sinful.'

Groups containing a nasal and following explosive generally remain unchanged; the following are exceptions:—

Nc becomes *ññ* in *paññāsa*=*pañcâṣat*, 'fifty;' *ṇṇ* in *pañ-
nuvīsam*=*pañcaviṃṣati*, 'twenty-five,' Jât. iii. 138; *nn* in *pannarasa*, 'fifteen,' *pannarasī*, 'the day of the full or new moon,' comp. Sinh. panas, Prāk. paṇavaṇṇā, Pischel, Beitr. iii. 245.

Nj becomes *ññ* in *viññitvā* and *viññāpetvā* from *vriñj*, Suttavibh. ii. 264, but *āviñji*, Suttavibh. i. 127, *āviñjandā*, ib. 121, and with hardening of the *j* to *ch*, *āviñchandā*, C. v. 14, 3, 4.

Nḍ becomes *ṇṇ* in *pummarika*=*punḍarīka*, 'lotus,' in a passage of the Ang. quoted by Oldenberg, Buddha 424; simplified in *bhāṇaka*=*bhāṇḍaka*, 'a jar;' *ḍḍ* in *deḍḍubha*=*duṇḍubha*, 'a kind of lizard.'

Mb becomes *mm* in *ammā*=*ambā*, 'mother;' *ārammana*=*ālabhana*, 'support.'

When two nasals meet progressive assimilation takes place, as in *ummagga*=*unmārga*, 'an underground watercourse,' *ninna*=*nimna*, 'deep.'

Groups containing *y* generally assimilate the same to the other element. If, however, the first element is a dental the whole group passes into the palatal class. In many cases the assimilation is avoided by the insertion of an *i* or the group remains unchanged.

(1) Gutturals: *ussukka*=*autsukya*, 'zeal;' *sokhiya*=*saukhyā*, 'happiness;' *ākhyāta*=*ākhyāta*, 'announced;' *yogga*=*yogyā*, 'proper.'

(2) Palatals: *vuccati*=*ucyate*, pass. of *vac*; *joti*=*jyotis*, 'light;' *jiyā* and *jyā*=*jiyā*, 'the bow-string;' and *adejjha*=*adhijjā*, Jât. iii. 274.

(3) Cerebrals: *kudda* = *kudya*, 'a wall;' *âdhya*, *addha* = *âdhya*, 'rich;' *puñña* = *punya*, 'good.'

(4) Dentals: *âhacca* = *âhritya* for *âhârya*, 'having told;' *âhacca* = *avahadya*, 'having befouled;' *ekacca* = *ekatya*, 'a certain,' according to Senart, *Mahâvastu* 388, comp. *ekacciya*, M. viii. 14, 2 (Childers and Trenckner, *Pâli Misc.* 56 derive it from *ekatara*); *âvajjati* = *avadhya*, 'to consider;' *añña* = *anya*, 'other;' *cicca* = *cintya* for *cintayitvâ*. The assimilation does not take place in *cetya*, *cetiya* = *caitya*, 'a relic-shrine;' *vyat-taya* = *vyatyaya*, 'opposition;' *paṭaggi* = *pratyagni*, 'fire in return;' *pâtankî* = *pratyankin*, 'a sedan chair,' M. viii. 10, 3; *pâtekka* from *pratyeka*, 'singly' (the regular form *pacceka* occurs frequently); *pasîdiya* = *prasîdya*, 'believing,' Mah. 5; in compositions with *ud* we obtain the group *yy*, as *uyyoga* = *udyoga*, 'departure.'

(5) Labials: *tappati* = *tapyate*, pass. of *tap*; *labbhati* = *labh-yate*, pass. of *labh*; *lepya* = *lepya*, 'plastering.'

(6) After *r* we generally find epenthesis, as in *âcariya* = *âcârya*, 'teacher;' *suriya* = *sûrya*, 'sun;' and sometimes the position of the sounds is inverted so that we have the group *yir* instead of the group *riy*, as in *ayira* = *ârya*, Jât. ii. 349; *bhayirâ* = *bhâryâ*, 'wife;' *kayirâ* = *kuryât* optative, and *kayirati* = *kriyate*, passive of *kar*. Besides, we have cases of retrogressive and progressive assimilation; when retrogressive assimilation takes place we get the group *yy* and sometimes a single *y*, when progressive assimilation, we obtain a single *r*, as this consonant cannot be doubled, with a long vowel before it. Instances are: *ayya* = *ârya*, 'noble;' *jiyyati*, *jîyati*, and *jîrati* = *jar*, 'to grow old;' *seyyasi* = *çîryasi*, from *çar*, 'to decay,' Jât. i. 174, Dh. 147; *paripûrati* = *paripûryate*, 'to be filled.' The group *ry* is changed to *ll* in *vipallâsa* = *viparyâsa*, 'change,'

Suttavibh. i. 7: *pallaṅka* = *paryāṅka*, 'couch;' *pallattha* = *paryasta*, 'posture,' Jât. i. 163.

L+y is either preserved or assimilated: *kalyāṇa* and *kallāṇa* = *kalyāṇa*, 'fortunate.'

V+y is often written *by* in the beginning of a word where it represents the preposition *vi*; this is the spelling of the Burmese MSS. while the Sinhalese write *vy*; in a few instances I have found it in the middle of a word, viz. *korabya* = *kauravya*, Jât. ii. 371; *upasambyāna* = *upasaṃvyāna*, 'the outer garment,' Ab. 292. We also find examples of assimilation in the beginning, as *vavatthāpeti* = *vyavasthāpayati*, 'to settle;' *vāyamati* = *vyāyam*, 'to struggle;' *vodaka* = *vyudaka*, 'without water;' *vossajjati* = *vyavasajjati*, 'to relinquish.' In the middle of a word *vy* remains as in *pathavyā*, Dh. 32, or is divided by *i*, as in *puthuvīyā*, Mah. 19, *puthuvīyaṃ*, Att. 8; it may however also be assimilated to *bb*, as in *abbocchinna* = *avyavachinna*, 'unbroken,' Mil. 72; *abbohārika* = *avyavahārika*, Suttavibh. i. 91; *bhātubba* = *bhrātṛivya*, 'cousin,' Bālāvatāra, p. 36; *abhabba* = *abhavya*, 'unable;' *sibbati* = *sīvyati*, 'to sew;' *pasibbaka*, 'a bag,' from the same root. The *y* is altogether dropped in *gāvuta* = *gavyūti*, 'a measure of length.' The forms in *tayya* = *tavya*, given by the Grammarians as *ñātayya* = *jñātavya*, *pat-tayya* = *prāptavya*, I believe do not belong to the living language. After a sibilant we have progressive assimilation; the only exception is *ālasya* or *ālasīya* = *ālasya*, 'sloth,' Dh. 49.

In the group *hy* the position of the elements is reversed, so that it becomes *yh*, as *mayham* = *mahyam*; exceptions are *bāhya*, 'external' (also *bāhira* with change of *y* to *r*) and *etiha* = *aitiha*, 'oral tradition,' Ascoli 244. Assimilation takes place in *leyya* = *lehya*, 'to be licked;' epenthesis in *hiyyo* or *hiyo* = *hyas*, 'yesterday.' For *yh* in *vuyhati* = *uhyate* we also

find *lh*: *vuḷhati* (Ascoli 244 derives this from the part. *vūḷha*, I doubt whether the form is correct).

R before an explosive is always assimilated, and if the explosive is a dental the group may become cerebral; in a few instances also the influence of the *r* is shown by aspiration.

(1) Gutturals: *sakkharā* = *çarkarâ*, 'sugar,' spelt *sakkharā*, Jât. i. 238; *vagga*=*varga*, 'class'; *dīgha*=*dīrgha*, 'long,' with compensation; *kakkasa*=*karkaça*, 'rough.'

(2) Palatals: *acci* = *arci*, 'flame,' spelt *acchi* in a passage of *Samyuttaka Nikāya* quoted by Oldenberg, Buddha 434; *mucchatī* = *mūrchatī*, 'to faint'; *sajja* = *sarja*, 'the sal tree.'

(3) Cerebrals: *kaṃṃa*=*karna*, 'the ear'; *kaṇṇakita*=*karna-kṛita*, *Suttavibh.* ii. 282.

(4) Dentals: *pārivattaka* = *parivartaka*, 'a robe lent to a priest and returned by him after a period,' Pât. 8. 13. 78, but *pārivattaka* *Suttavibh.* ii. 59; *āvatta*=*āvarta*, 'whirlpool,' Mah. 213, but *āvatta*, Jât. i. 70; *vattaka*=*vartaka*, 'quail'; *vattati*=*vartati*, 'to be right,' but *āvattati* and *nibbattati*; *attha* = *artha*, 'reason,' but *aṭṭa*, 'lawsuit'; *kevatta*=*kaivarta*, 'fisher,' also spelt *kerattṭha* in Wastergaard's Catalogue 21a; *chaddeti* = *chard*, 'to throw away,' also spelt *chaddh*, Jât. i. 277; *parimaddati* = *parimard*, 'to excel,' also spelt *parimaddh*, Jât. i. 145; *addita* = *ardita*, 'afflicted,' Mah. 3, but *aḍḍita*, Bv. ii. 129; *daddhi*=*dardhya*, 'sloth,' Trenckner, Pāli Misc. 65. A curious metathesis takes place in *gadrabha* = *gardabha*, 'a donkey,' but in *gaddabhāṇḍa*=*gardabhāṇḍa*, 'the tree *Thespesia populneoides*,' the assimilation is regular.

(5) Labials: *kappūra* = *karpūra*, 'camphor'; *abbuda* = *arbuda*, 'a high number'; *gabbha* = *garbha*, 'womb'; *kamma* = *karma*, 'action.' The group *rv* becomes *bb*, as in *pabbaha* =

parvata (spelt *pappata* sometimes in Burmese MSS.); *cappeti* = carv, 'to chew,' C. 317.

(6) Sibilants: assimilation in *dassana* = darçana, 'sight;' epenthesis in *arisa* = arças, 'hemorrhoids;' *ârissa* = ârsha, 'rishiship,' Kacc. 216. The group *rsh* is turned into *h* in *kahâpana* = karshâpaṇa, *kâhiti* = kârshyati. From *barsh* we have a present *hamṣati*, 'to rejoice,' Suttavibh. i. 8, Kacc. 390.

(7) Before *h* we always have epenthesis, as in *arahati* = arhati, *barihisa* = barhis, 'sacrificial grass.'

R following an explosive is also generally assimilated, but here we find several instances where it is retained or a vowel is inserted:—

(1) Gutturals: *vakka* = vakra, 'crooked;' *khiddâ* (and *kīlâ*) = kṛiḍâ, 'play;' *khumseti* = kruç, 'to curse,' comp. Pischel, Beitr. iii. 253; *vagga* = vyagra, 'irregular,' Oldenberg K Z. xxv. 324; *paccaggha* = pratyagra, 'new;' with epenthesis *kiriya* = kriyâ, 'deed;' *kurûra* = krûra, 'cruel.'

(2) Palatals: *vajira* = vajra, 'thunder-bolt.'

(3) Dentals: *sattu* = çatru, 'enemy,' spelt *satthu*, Dîp. 21; *sâvitthî* = sâvitri, M. vi. 35, 8, spelt *sâvittî*, Fausb. S. N. 75; *tattha*, *yattha*, *kattha* = tatra, yatra, kutra, 'there,' 'where,' *parattha* = paratra, 'elsewhere;' *sotthiya* = çotriya, 'a brahmin;' *sabbhattâ* = sarvatratvât, 'in every way,' according to Weber, Indische Streifen iii. 397; *haliddi* = haridrî, 'turmeric myrobolan,' Suttavibh. ii. 35, spelt *haliddhi*, C. 317. The *r* is retained in *utrâsa* = uttrâsa, 'terror,' Jât. ii. 336, participle *utrasta*, Mil. 23, and *utrassa*, M. x. 2, 16 (*uttasati* occurs Att. 205, Jât. i. 326, *uttasta*, Jât. i. 414); *dudrabhi* = dundubhi, 'drum;' *yâtrâ* = yâtrâ, 'expedition;' *adrûbha*, 'undeceitful,' M. x. 2, 17 (*adûbha*, Jât. i. 180). The group *dr* is changed to *nd* in *sanda* = sâdra, 'coarse,' to *jj* in *khujja* = kshudra,

'small,' Saddhammop. 93; *dhr* to *jjh* in *gijjha*=grīdhra 'vulture.'

(4) Labials: After *p* the *r* is assimilated, as in *piya*=priya, 'dear;' *pati*=prati, 'in return;' *phositum* from prush, 'to sprinkle,' M. vi. 14, 5, *parippositā*, M. i. 25, 15, *paripp hosaka*, Gr. 140. *Br* is generally retained, as in *braviti*, from brū, 'to speak,' *brahman*; *bhr* is assimilated, as in *sobbha*=çvabhra 'cave; *mr* only in the beginning of a word, as *miyyati*=mriyate; in the middle a *b* is developed out of the *m* after which the *r* disappears: *amba*=āmra, 'mango;' *tamba*=tāmra, 'copper.' *Vr* is assimilated to *v* in the beginning, and to *bb* in the middle of a word: *vajati*=vrajati, 'to go,' but *giri bbaja*; *abbuta*=avrata or avṛita, 'undisciplined,' Dh. 47.

R, after a sibilant, is generally assimilated, as in *sāvaka*=çrāvaka, 'a pupil;' *massu*=çmaçru, 'beard;' epenthesis takes place in *siri*=çrī, 'glory;' *daḍḍha* and *uḍḍha* are=dasra and usrā according to Kacc. 333, but Weber Indische Streifen iii. 370, identifies them with *daṃshṛā* and *uṣṭṛa*.

Hr is assimilated in *hesa*=hresha, 'neighing;' *sateratā*=çatahradā, 'hail;' *rassa*=hrasva, 'short;' separated in *hirī*=hri, 'shame;' but *hīlita*=hrīta and *hīleti*, Jât. ii. 258, *rahada*=hrada, 'pond.'

L is on the whole treated very much like *r*; before gutturals and labials it is assimilated; *vaggulī*=valgulī, 'bat,' C. vi. 2, 2, Jât. i. 498; *kiñjakka*=kiñjalka, 'a filament;' *kappa*=kalpa, 'time;' *pagabbha*=pragalbha, 'bold;' *jamma*=jālma, 'reckless.' Exceptions are *suñka*=çulka, 'tribute;' *suñkaghāta*, 'smuggling,' Suttavibh. i. 47; *gumba*=gulma, 'thicket;' *simbalī*=çālmali, 'the silk-cotton tree.' *Lv* is assimilated to *bb* in *kib-bisa*=kilvisha, 'fault;' to *ll* in *khallāṭa*=khalvāṭa, 'bald;' *billa* and *bella*, Jât. iii. 76,=vilva, 'the Vilva tree,' but *beluva*=vailva

L after gutturals and labials is generally separated by *i*, as in *kilissati*=klicyati (but *parikissati*, Fausb. S. N. xi.); *kilomaka*=kloman, 'the pleura,' Mil. 26; *klesa*, without epenthesis, occurs Dh. v. 88; *pilavati*=plavati, Dh. 59, Dīp. 56; *vipalāvita*, Jât. i. 326; *piluvati*, Mah. 230; *pilakkha*=plaksha, 'figus infectoria,' Suttavibh. ii. 35, Jât. iii. 24; *pilotikā*=plota, 'a cloth;' *pihaka*=plīhan, 'the spleen;' *ambila*=amla, 'sour;' *milakkha*=mleccha, 'a barbarian,' originally mlaska.

Ṛl gives *ll*, as in *duḷḷabha*=durlabha, 'difficult to obtain.'

L after sibilants and *h* is generally separated by *i*, as in *silāghā*=ṣlāghā, 'praise;' *silesuma* and *semha*=ṣleshman, 'phlegm;' *hilādati*=hlād, 'to be glad.'

V after gutturals, palatals and cerebrals, is assimilated, as in *pakka*=pakva, 'ripe;' *kaṭhati*=kvath, 'to boil;' (also written *kulh*, Vinaya texts, ii. 57, and *koddh*, Dh. 155), *jalati*=jvalati, 'to blaze;' *kiṇṇa*=kiṇva, 'yeast.'

After dentals it is also generally assimilated, as in *cattāro*=catvāras, 'four;' *taco*=tvac, 'bark, skin,' comp., however, *saṇhavāka*=ṣlakṣhṇatvaḥ, Dh. 412; it remains unchanged in the suffix *tvā* or *tvāṇa*, in *iritvija*=ṛitvij, 'the officiating priest;' and in the pronoun of the second person *tvam*, which is also found as *tuvam* and *taṃ*. *Tv* is changed into *cc* in *caccara*=catvara, 'court;' *anuvicca*=anuviditvā (comm. jānitvā), Dh. 41, Jât. i. 459, Fausb. S. N. xi. 91. *Dv* is assimilated in *dīpa*=dvīpa, 'island;' *uddāpa*=udvāpa, 'foundation of a wall' Mahāparin. 11; *ubbāsiyati*=udvas, 'to chase;' which is the correct reading at Mah. 45 for *ubbāhiyati*; it remains unchanged in *dve*, 'two' (also *duve*, but *bā*=dvā in *bārasa*, 'twelve'); *dvāra*, 'door;' *advejjha*=advaidhya, 'sincere,' Bv. ii. 110. *Dhv* is assimilated to *ddh*, as in *addhā*=adhvan, 'road;' to *jjh* in *majjhāru*, M. v. 13, 6, probably = madhvālu, 'yam.'

Nv is changed to *mm* in *dhammantari*=*dhanvantari*, Mil. 272 ; *dalhadhamma* = *ḍiḍhadhanva*, Trenckner, P. M. 60 (but *gaṇḍivadhanvā*, Kacc. 182), comp. Prāk. *dhamma*, 'bow,' Pāiyal. 37.

After a sibilant *v* is generally assimilated, as in *assa* = *açva*, 'a horse;' *sāmi*=*svāmin*, 'lord,' but also *suṇāmi*, Fausb. S. N. xi., *suṇāmini*, Jāt. iii. 288 ; it remains unchanged in *svāna* (or *sāna*, *suṇāna*), = *çvā*, 'a dog;' *sva* (and *suve*), = *çvas*, 'tomorrow;' *ehisvāgata*, 'come and be welcome,' C. i. 13, 3, Suttavibh. i. 181. Epenthesis in *suvaṭṭhi* = *svasti*, 'welfare.'

Hv undergoes metathesis like *hy*, as in *jivhā*=*jihvā*, 'tongue;' sometimes it becomes *bbh*, as in *gabbhara*=*gahvara*, 'a cavern.'

A sibilant preceding or following an explosive is assimilated by the same and generally produces aspiration of the group.

Ksh is mostly changed to *kkh* or *cch*, as in *cakkkhu*=*cakshus*, 'eye;' *gavakkha*, 'bull's eye,' but *gavacchita*, Jāt. i. 60 ; *rukkha* and *vaccha*=*vṛiksha*, 'a tree,' Mil. 209, Suttavibh. i. 179 ; *khudda*=*kshudra*, 'small' (*chudda*, 'mean,' is not the same word, but participle to the root *chubh*=*kshiv*, Trenckner, Mil. 130), *khamā*=*kshamā*, 'patience' and 'earth;' in the latter signification also *chamā*, comp. Hem. ii. 18 ; *akkocchi*=*akru-kshīt* ✓*kruç*, Kacc. 13. Sometimes the aspiration is dropped, as in *Takkasilā*=*Takshaçilā*, 'a city in the Punjab;' *ikka*=*ṛiksha*, 'a bear' (also written *isa* and *issa* in *Abhidhānapp.*), *Okkāka*=*Ikshvāku*. *Patissā*, 'obedience,' is = *pratīkshā* according to Senart *Mahāvastu* 516 ; *appatissavāsa* occurs Jāt. ii. 352.

Ts and *ps* generally become *cch*, as in *jighacchā* = *jighatsā*, 'hunger;' *chāta*, 'hungry, desirous,' and its opposite *nicchāta*, Fausb. S. N. 143, from *psā*, *saṃvacchara* (and *vacchara*, *Saddhammop.* v. 239)=*saṃvatsara*, 'year;' *bībhacca*=*bībhatsa*,

'loathsome;' and from the same root *nibbhaccheti*, 'to rebuke,' Jât. ii. 338. Exceptions are most of the roots beginning with *s* when composed with the preposition *ut*, which gives the group *ss*, as *ussada*=*utsada*, 'desire,' Fausb. S. N. 149, generally used in the compound *ussadaniraya*, where Burnouf translates it 'protuberance,' comp. Mahāvastu 372; and the verb *ussādiyati*, 'to be spoiled,' C. vi. 11, 3, Suttavibh. ii. 99. We find, however, also the regular form *ucchadeti*, Mil. 241; *ucchādana*, 'rubbing the body with perfumes,' Gr. 10, Mil. 315; *ucchaṅga*=*utsaṅga*, 'the hip.'

Çc becomes *cch*, as in *niccharati*=*niçcar*, 'to proceed.' An exception is *niccitta* (for *niccita*, corr.), 'thoughtless,' Dh. 173, Jât. ii. 298.

Shk and *sk* generally become *kkh*, as *nikkha* or *nekkha*=*nishka*, 'golden ornament.' Exceptions are most of the roots beginning with *k* when composed with the preposition *nis*, which in Sanskrit must result in *shk*, but in Pāli only gives *kk*, e. g., *nikkaḍḍhati*, 'to expel,'=niskrish; we have, however, the group *kkh* in *nekkhamma*=*naishkāmya*, 'abandonment of desires,' Vinaya texts, i. 104; and in *nikkhamati*=*nishkram*, 'to depart' (*nikkam* only Mil. 245, Kh. 8); *takkara*=*taskara*, 'a thief,' *avakkāra*=*avaskāra* in *avakkārapāṭi*, 'slop-basin,' M. iv. 1, 2.

Shṭ and *shṭh* become *ṭṭh* in *bhaṭṭha*=*bhrasṭha*, 'fallen' and =*bhṛisṭha*, 'fried;' *paṭṭhu*=*prasṭha*, 'clever' (Buddhagh. *cheka*, *samattha*) Suttavibh. i. 210, ii. 60, 254, *maṭṭha* and *maṭṭa*=*mṛisṭha*, 'polished;' *vaṭṭa*=*vṛisṭha*, from *vassati*, 'to rain' (*vuṭṭha*, Jât. iii. 484); *aṭṭaka*=*aṣṭaka* (Buddh. *aḍḍhaka*), Suttavibh. i. 81; *leḍḍu*=*leshṭu*, 'a clod of earth.'

St and *sth* generally become *tth*, as in *adhivattha*=*adhivasta*, 'living on' (*adhivuttha*, Mahāparin. 23), *parivattha*, and *pari-*

vuttha; *apattha*=apâsta, 'thrown away,' Dh. 27; *pattha*=prastha, 'a measure of capacity;' *aṭṭhi*=asthi, 'bone.' *Tt* in *niratta*=nirasta, 'rejected,' Fausb. S. N. 150; *hīyattana*=hyastana, 'yesterday's;' *bhaddamutta*=bhadramusta, 'Cyperus rotundus,' M. vi. 3, 1; *nettimsa*=nistriṃṣa, 'merciless,' Jât. ii. 77; *urattālim*=urastâdam, 'beating the breast,' Mil. 11. *St* remains in *viddhasta*=vidhvasta, 'broken;' it becomes *ss* in *vassa*=basta, 'goat,' but also *bhasta*, Jât. iii. 278.

Shp and *sp* generally become *pph*, as in *puppha*=pushpa, 'a flower;' *nippala*=nishphala, 'fruitless;' *pp* in *bappa* or *vappa*=bâshpa, 'a tear,' M. x. 2, 13; *vanappati*=vanaspati, 'a tree,' *duppâra*=dushpûra, 'difficult to fill,' Dh. 392; *nippâpa*=nishpâpa, 'sinless,' Dh. 37; *poṭṭhabba* for *phoṭṭhabba*, 'contact,' Jât. ii. 81; *appoṭṭheti*=âsphoṭayati, 'to snap the fingers.'

Groups of nasals with sibilants can either be assimilated or remain unchanged, or insert a vowel between the nasal and the sibilant, or change the sibilant to *h* with metathesis.

Çn and *sn*: *pañha*=praçna, 'question,' and *paripañhati*, 'to consider,' *sinâna* and *nahâna*=snâna, 'bathing;' for *sinâni*, 'powder' Assalâyanasutta 13 comp. *snânîya*=cûrṇa, Pânini 3, 3, 113 schol.

Shṇ: *uṇha*=ushṇa, 'hot,' but *sītunnaka* for *sītunhaka*, M. viii. 10, 2; *taṇhâ* and *tasinâ*=trishṇâ, 'thirst;' *osaṇhati*, C. v. 2, 3, is a derivative from *saṇha*=çlakshṇa, 'smooth.'

Çm, *shm*, *sm*: *sita*, *mihita*=smita, 'smile;' *massu*=çmaçru, 'beard;' *gimha*=grîshma, 'summer;' *asman*=açman, 'stone,' but *amhanâ*, Fausb. S. N. 71; *amhe*=asme, 'us,' but *asme*, Jât. iii. 359; *usmâ*=ushman, 'heat,' Mil. 153; *bhasma* and *bhesma*=bhîsma, C. vii. 4, 8, Ab. 167; *raṃsi* and *rasmî*=raçmi, 'beam;' *pamussati*, 'to forget,' is derived by S. Gold-

schmidt, K.Z. xxv. 437, from a root *smṛish*, to which also belongs *Prāk. pambusāi, pamhutṭha*, Hem. iv. 75, 184, 258; and this derivation seems to be confirmed by the spelling *pammutṭha* and *pammussitvā*, Dh. 247, 248, Jât. iii. 511.

The groups *hn, hm*, generally show metathesis, as *gaṇhāti* = *grihṇāti*, 'to take;' *jimha* = *jihma*, 'crooked,' spelt *jima*, Jât. i. 290; *hn* becomes *nt* in *majjhantika* for *majjhahnika*, 'midday.'

The rules of the changes of three or more consonants are, on the whole, the same as those concerning two consonants which have just been laid down. When assimilation takes place an explosive prevails over the other consonants; *sattha* = *çastra*, 'a weapon,' but fem. *sattī* = *çastri*, 'a knife;' *uddha* and *ubbha* = *ûrdhva*, 'high;' *tikkhīṇa, tikka* and *tiṇha* = *tīkshṇa*, 'sharp;' *kaṣiṇa* = *kṛitsna*, 'entire,' but *subhakiṇha* or *°kiṇṇa* = *çubha-kṛitsna*; *dosina* and *junhā* = *jyotsna, jyotsnā*, 'a moonlit night;' *anupakhajja* = *anupraskandja*, 'having occupied;' *uplāvita* = *utplāvita*, 'floated,' Mah. 230; *bhastā* = *bhastrā*, 'bellows,' is only known from *Abhidhānapp*.

Rdr is changed to *ll* in *alla* = *ârdra*, 'wet,' *Prāk. alla, olla* or *ulla*, Hem. i. 82, but we find also *adda*, Jât. i. 244, and *addā* = *ârdrā*, 'name of a Nakshatra,' Ab. 58, *addaka* = *âdraka*, 'green ginger,' Ab. 459; *rdhr* becomes *ddh* in *vaddha* = *vardhra*, 'leather,' Jât. ii. 154, Ang. p. 110.

Tty and *ttr*, where they are not assimilated, are simplified into *ty* and *tr* or *tt*, as in *ratyā* instr. of *ratti* = *râtri*, 'night;' *vimuttāyatana* = *vimukti + âyatana*, 'point of emancipation;' *utrāsa* and *utrasta*, or *uttāsa* and *uttasta* = *utrāsa, uttrasta*, *satra* = *sattra*, 'sacrifice;' *udriyati*, M. iii. 8, 1, *Suttavibh. i. 254*, stands for *uddriyati*, 'to split open,' and the substantive *udriyanam* occurs Jât. i. 72.

§ 13. Rules on Sandhi.

The rules on sandhi in Pâli may be divided into rules on vowel-sandhi, and rules on mixed sandhi where a vowel and a consonant are concerned. Consonantal sandhi does not occur in Pâli. All the rules we are about to give only deal with the so-called external sandhi, as the rules on internal sandhi form a part of the phonetics we have given above. We only speak here about the sandhi of words, the sandhi of compounds belonging to the chapter on the formation of the stem.

Word-sandhi is not imperative in Pâli as in Samskrit; it only takes place in certain cases, and the MSS. vary greatly as to its use or neglect. In prose it is almost confined to indeclinables and pronouns, in juxta-position or in connection with a verb or a noun, as e.g., *my ayaṃ*=me ayaṃ, *yaṃ nūna*=yad nūna, *tasseva*=tassa eva, *tatth Ānanda*, etc. The particles that are almost regularly found in sandhi are *ca*, *iti* (*ti*), *api* (*pi*), *eva*, as *kathaṃ ca*=katham ca, *kiñcid eva*=kiñci eva, *tathāpi*=tathā api, etc. The negative *na*, followed by a vowel, generally loses its *a*, as *n'atthi*, *n'eva*, *nāhosi*, which Trenckner, Pâli Misc. 81, prefers writing *na tthi*, as though the root *as* had lost its initial *a*. So he also writes *tāva 'ham*, *eva 'ham*, Mil. 219; *tattha 'ham* and *nāma 'ham*, and the same with *ayaṃ*, although *nāmaḥam* and *nāmaḥayaṃ* are equally frequent.

The other cases of word-sandhi in prose, without any indeclinable or pronoun, are divided by Childers into three categories: (1) a vocative beginning with a vowel is preceded by a word ending in a vowel, as *gacch' āvuso*, *pañcah' Upāli*, *āyāṃ' Ānanda*; (2) a verb is preceded or followed by a noun in

grammatical relation with it, as *utthāyāsana*, *āsana* *vuṭṭhāya*, *upajjhāyass' ārocesum*; (3) two nouns are in grammatical relation, as *dukkhass' antam*, *dvāḥ' ākārehi*.

In verse word-sandhi is much more frequent than in prose, under the influence of metrical exigency; in later texts, like *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvāṃsa*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and especially *Khuddasikkhā*, it is not uncommon that whole syllables disappear in a sandhi where it is required by the metre, as e.g. *chaṅgula* = *chaḍaṅgula*, Mah. 211; *dasahassī* = *dasasahassī*, Bv. xiii. 21; *ticattārīsahassāni*, Bv. xvi. 15.

I. Vowel Sandhi.

A + *a*, *ā* followed by a single consonant gives *ā*, as *nāhosi* = *na* + *ahosi*, *nāsakkhi* = *na* + *asakkhi*; if a double consonant follows the *a* remains short, and an apostrophe is put generally after the terminating consonant of the first word, to show that a vowel has been dropped, as in *n' atthi* = *na atthi*, *pan' aññam* = *pana aññam*. In a few instances we find a long *ā* before a double consonant, as *nāssa* = *na assa*, Dh. 23, comp. above the chapter on the quantity of vowels, p. 13. A short *a* before a single consonant occurs also in a few instances, as *c' aham*, Jāt i. 3; *n' ahosi* = *na ahosi*, Dh. 155.

A or *ā* + *i* or *ī* gives *e*, as in Skt., e.g. *kokilāyeva* = *kokilāya* + *iva*, *neresi* = *na īresi*. An exception is *iti*, which always gives *āti* with a preceding *a*, e.g. *Tissāti* = *Tissa iti*; *i* is elided by a preceding *a* in *yena 'me* = *yena ime*, *pana 'me* = *pana ime*; *ā* + *i* sometimes gives *ī*, as *seyyathīdam* = *seyyathā idam*.

A or *ā* + *u* or *ū* gives *o*, as in *nopeti* = *na upeti*, *pakkhanditodadhim* = *pakkhanditā udadhim*, Mah. 117. Seldom we find *ū* instead, as *cūbhayaṃ* = *ca ubhayaṃ*.

A is frequently elided by *i* or *u* whether followed by a

conjunct consonant or not, as in *passath' imam* = *passatha imam*, *yass' indriyāni* = *yassa indriyāni*.

A is generally elided before *e*, *o*: *ganhath' etam* = *ganhatha etam*, *iv' otatam* = *iva otatam*.

Ā sometimes elides a following *i*, *u* or *e* in *eva*: *disvā' panissayam* = *disvā upanissayam*, *sutvā' va* = *sutvā eva*, Das. 4. Generally *ā* is elided before a long vowel or before a short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant: *tath' eva* = *tathā eva*, *tay' ajja* = *tayā ajja*, seldom before a short vowel followed by a single consonant: *muñcitv' aham* = *muñcitvā aham*; Jât. i. 13.

I is generally elided before short or long vowels, as *gacchām' aham* = *gachāmi aham*, *idān' ime* = *idāni ime*, *dasah' upāgata* = *dasahi upāgata*, *dvīh' ākārehi* = *dvīhi ākārehi*, etc. Sometimes it remains and elides the following vowel: *phalanti 'saniyo* = *phalanti asaniyo*, *idāni 'ssa* = *idani assa*; *i + a* occasionally gives *ā*: *kiñcāpi* = *kiñci api*, *pāham* = *pi aham*.

Ī is seldom elided: *tunh' assa* = *tunhī assa*; at Jât. iii. 414, we have *dassāham* = *dāsī + aham*.

I + i gives *ī*: *palujjīti* = *palujji iti*, Par. 40. *I* preceded by *t* (*tt*) and followed by another vowel may become *y*: *jīvanty elaka* = *jīvanti elaka*, *guty atha* = *gutti atha*. Generally, however, the group *ty* is changed to *cc*, especially when the first word is *iti*: *iccevam* = *ity evam*. The corresponding change of *dy* to *jj* is not attested by any good authority. *Api* followed by a vowel may become *app* through an intermediate *apy*: *app eva* = *api eva*; *itv*, *tv* for *iti*, *ti* is most probably only a corrupt spelling.

U is elided before a vowel: *samet' āyasmā* = *sametu āyasmā*, *tās' eva* = *tāsu eva*. Rarely it elides a following vowel: *nu' ttha* = *nu attha*, *kinnu' mā* = *kinnu imā*. *U + i* sometimes gives

ā : *sādhāti* = *sādhu + iti*. Before *a* or *e* it can be changed to *v* : *vatthv ettha* = *vatthu ettha*, *sesev ayam* = *sesev ayam*.

E may be elided before a long vowel or before a short vowel followed by a conjunct consonant : *m' āsi* = *me āsi*, *sac' assa* = *sace assa* ; sometimes it elides a following vowel : *te' me* = *te ime*, *sace' jja* = *sace ajja*, *re' yya* = *re ayya*, Mil. 124 ; occasionally *e + a* gives *ā*, as *sacāyam* = *sace + ayam*, Dh. 140, 165 ; but the *e* can also be turned into *y*, as if it were *i*, and an *a* following lengthened by compensation when a single consonant follows : *tyāham* = *te aham*, *myāyam* = *me ayam*, *ty ajja* = *te ajja* ; exception, *tyāssa* = *te assa*.

O is elided before a long vowel or a short vowel followed by a double consonant : *kut' ettha* = *kuto ettha*, *tay' assu* = *tayo assu*, *tat' uddham* = *tato uddham*. It elides a following vowel in *so'ham* = *so aham*, *cattāro' me* = *cattāro ime*, etc. *O + a* gives *ā* : *dukkhāyam* = *dukkho ayam*, Jât. i. 168. *Ô* can also be turned into *v* (as *e* into *y*) and an initial *a* lengthened if followed by a single consonant : *yvāham* = *yo aham*, *khvassa* = *kho assa*, *yveva* = *yo eva* : exceptions, *svāssu* = *so assu*, Jât. i. 196 ; *khvāssa* = *kho assa*, Payoga Siddhi.

Euphonic consonants are often inserted when two vowels meet, to avoid a hiatus ; especially the semi-vowels *y* and *v* are used for this purpose.

Y is inserted between a word terminating in *a* or *ā*, when followed by *idam* or any of the oblique cases of this pronoun which begins with *i* : *na yidam* = *na idam*, *mā yime* = *mā ime*, *yathayidam* = *yathā idam* with shortening of the *ā*. The same process takes place with *eva* and *iva*, which latter, however, is changed to *viya* by metathesis. When *a*, *ā* is followed by *u*, *ū*, *v* may be inserted for euphony : *bhantā vudikkhati* = *bhantā udikkhati*.

Sometimes a euphonic *m* is inserted between two vowels : *idha-m-āhu* = *idha āhu*, *parigaṇiya-m-asesam* = *parigaṇiya asesam*, *Girimānandasutta* in *Paritta*, *kapi-m-āgantvā*, *Cariy.* ii. 5, 4 ; or *r* if the following word is *iva* : *āragge-r-iva* = *āragge iva*, *sāsapo-r-iva* = *sāsapo iva*, *sikhā-r-iva* = *sikhā iva*, *Mahā-samayas.* 21. Final *ā* is shortened before this *r* in *yatha-r-iva*, *tatha-r-iva* = *yathā eva*, *tathā eva*, *Kacc.* 19.

In a great many cases a lost consonant is revived to avoid the hiatus, as in *yasmād apeti* = *yasmād apeti*, *kocid eva* = *kaṇṇocid eva*, *tunhīm āsina* = *tūshṇīm āsina*, *vuttir esā* = *vrittir eshā*, *chaḷabhiññā* = *śhaḍabbijñā*, *putthag eva* = *prithag eva*, *pag eva* = *prāg eva*, with shortening of the *ā*, *sammadaññā* = *samyag ājñā*, with change of *g* to *d*, and *anvad* = *anvak* in a passage of the *Maggasamṃyutta* quoted by Morris, 'Report on Pāli literature,' p. 5. *Dhir atthu*, *Jāt.* i. 59, stands for *dhig atthu*, *vijjur eva* for *vijjud eva*. *Jāt.* iii. 464 we have *jīvar eva* for *jīvann eva* ; *attadatha* stands for *attanattha* = *ātman + artha*, *satthud anvaya* for *satthur anvaya*, *punad eva* for *punar eva*.

II. Mixed Sandhi.

Original double consonants simplified by assimilation at the beginning of a word, can again be doubled after a word terminating in a vowel : *yatra tthitam* = *yatra thitam* for *yatra sthitam*. This is often done in verse when a long syllable is required.

In a few cases a lost final consonant is revived before a consonant, as *yāvañ c' idam* = *yāva ca idam*, *suhanus saha*, *Jāt.* ii. 31, *tayas su* = *trayas svid*, *Kh.* 9.

As we have seen above, p. 45, sometimes *anusvāra* stands for an original consonant, and in this case before a vowel it is liable to be replaced by the original consonant. *Sakṛit* becomes

sakim in Pâli, but before a vowel we have *sakid*; in the same way we have *tad* for *tam*, *yad* for *yam*, etc.

In verse when a short syllable is required, anusvâra can be elided before a consonant: *no ce muñceyya' candimam* for *muñceyyam* Candaparitta, *âkañkha virâgam* for *âkañkham*, Dh. v. 343. Or else the whole syllable may be dropped, as in *rajovajall' ukkuṭikappamānam* as the metre requires, Dh. v. 141; *piyân' adassanam* for *piyānam*, Dh. v. 210; *pâpân' akaranam*, for *pâpānam*, v. 333; *nipajj' aham* for *nipajjim*, Jât. i. 13. When the anusvâra is dropped the remaining *a* can be contracted with a following *a* to *â*, as in *saccâham*=*satyam aham*, Suttavibh. i. 190; *labheyyâham*=*labheyyam aham*, Parin. 59; *idâham*=*idam + aham* in the phrase *ekam idâham samayam*, comp. Oldenberg, K.Z. xxv. 325.

Only in late texts an anusvâra can elide a following vowel, as *cîrassam' dhund* for *adhund*, *vassantam' malakam* in two passages from Pâli Burmese books quoted by Oldenberg, 'India Office Catalogue, p. 121,' *sovañnamayam' nuññâtam* for *anuññâtam*, Khuddasikkhâ, xxxvi. 15.

§ 14. Declension.

We distinguish in Pâli, as in Samskrîṭ, stems ending in vowels and stems ending in consonants, and according to this division the whole declension of substantives and adjectives is arranged. It must however be remarked, that the vowel stems have largely encroached upon the consonantal stems, and that only fragments of a consonantal inflexion have remained. Especially consonantal stems identical with roots, which are frequent enough in Samskrîṭ, have almost totally disappeared from Pâli, and have been replaced by dissyllabic stems increased by the addition of a vowel. A careful investigation of the old

texts has only yielded the following instances of consonantal root-stems: *taco*, pl. of *tvac*, 'skin,' Dh. 111, Kh. 3; *pādā*, instr. of *pad*, 'foot,' Dh. 164; *vācā*, instr. of *vāc*, 'speech,' Kh. 9; *pamudi*, loc. of *pramud*, 'joy,' Gr. 139; *parisati* and *parisatiṃ*, Suttavibh. ii. 285, loc. of *parishad*, 'assembly.'

There are two possibilities of turning these consonantal stems into vowel-stems: (1) The terminating consonant is dropped, and the word passes into the declension of that vowel which now stands at the end, e.g. *upanisā*=*upanishad*; *âpā*=*âpad*, Jât. ii. 317, which are inflected like feminine *â*-stems; *âsi*=*âcis*, 'blessing,' inflected like an *i*-stem; *maru*=*marut*, name of a 'deva,' inflected like an *u*-stem. (2) The stem is increased by the addition of an *a* (which may represent originally the termination of the acc. sing., comp. however Pischel, Beitr. iii. 262), and the word is now inflected like an *a*-stem, masculine, feminine or neuter, according to the gender of the original noun. Such instances are *kita*=*kṛit*, and *visagata* for *visakata*=*vishakṛit*, Suttavibh. i. 80; *tivutā*=*trivṛit*, name of a 'plant'; *barihisa*=*barhis*, 'sacrificial grass.' Sometimes the gender is changed, as in *sarado* m. 'year'=çarad f. comp. Pischel gramm. Prâc. 5; Beitr. iii. 240. Change of gender is very frequent in Pâli, as for instance in *vacābheda*, Khuddasikkhâ xl. 1, we have instead of *â* the thematic vowel *i*, and as this is also found in some other compounds, I do not believe that *vaci* is a locative like *tvaci* in *tvacisâra*, Pân. vi. 3, 9; comp. Jain-aprâk. vatîjoa Beitr. 5. *Âp* is generally used in the nom. pl. *âpo*, we find however a gen. *âpassa*, Mil. 363.

Only very few vestiges of the dual occur in the texts known to us at present: *to idh' âgato*, 'these two having come,' Dîp. 56; *ubho*=*ubhau*, Dh. v. 74, 306; *mâtâpitu*, 'father and mother,' Cariy. ii. 9, 7, if this does not stand for the acc.

°pitṭin. Generally the plural replaces the dual even in such cases as *jayampatī* and *tudampatī*, 'man and wife,' where the meaning clearly points to a duality.

I. Vowel Bases.

Masculine and Neuter in *a*.

Dhamma, 'The Law.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>dhammo</i> .	<i>dhammā, dhammāse</i> .
Voc.	<i>dhamma, dhammā</i> .	<i>dhammā</i> .
Acc.	<i>dhammaṃ</i> .	<i>dhamme</i> .
Instr.	<i>dhammena</i> .	<i>dhammebhi, dhammehi</i> .
Dat.	<i>dhammassa (dhammāya)</i> .	<i>dhammānaṃ</i> .
Abl.	<i>dhammā, dhammasmā,</i> <i>dhammamhā</i> .	<i>dhammebhi, dhammehi</i> .
Gen.	<i>dhammassa</i> .	<i>dhammānaṃ</i> .
Loc.	<i>dhamme, dhammasmiṃ,</i> <i>dhammamhi</i> .	<i>dhammesu</i> .

Rūpa, 'The Image.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	} <i>rūpaṃ</i> .	
Voc.		<i>rūpāni, rūpā</i> .
Acc.		<i>rūpāni, rūpe</i> .
Instr.	<i>rūpena</i> .	<i>rūpebhi, rūpehi</i> .
Dat.	<i>rūpassa (rūpāya)</i> .	<i>rūpānaṃ</i> .
Abl.	<i>rūpā, rūpassmā, rūpamhā</i> .	<i>rūpebhi, rūpehi</i> .
Gen.	<i>rūpassa</i> .	<i>rūpānaṃ</i> .
Loc.	<i>rūpe, rūpassmiṃ, rūpamhi</i> .	<i>rūpesu</i> .

The form given in the table as *dative* is, properly speaking, the genitive = Skt. *dharmasya*, *rûpasya*, which has taken up the functions of dative in Pâli. The old dative in *âya*, which I have given in parenthesis, is only used to denote the intention, and is almost synonymous with an infinitive; only few instances occur where the dative has a terminative meaning as Dh. v. 174, *saggâya gacchati*, 'goes to heaven,' and Dh. v. 311, *nirayâya upakaddhati*, 'brings to hell,' comp. Pischels remarks, Beitr. zur Kunde d. indog. Spr. i. 111, 119; *lokânukampâya* = *lokam anukampitum*, 'through compassion for the world;' *na patthaye nirayam dassanâya*, 'I do not wish to see the hell.' Especially the dative *atthâya* is used frequently with the meaning 'for the good of, for the sake of,' as in *Buddhassa atthâya jîvitam pariccejâmi*, 'for Buddha's sake I will lay down my life,' comp. Childers, s. v. We have also an abridged form *atthâ* used in the same sense, e.g. in *bhojanatthâ*, 'for the sake of food,' Jât. iii. 425. Other instances of this abridged dative are *esanâ* = *esanâya*, 'in search of,' Ten Jât. 48, 81; *anâpucchâ* = *anâpucchâya*, 'without asking leave,' comp. *paripucchâya*, Mil. 93; *lâbhâ* in such sentences as *lâbhâ vata no*, 'this is for our advantage,' which Childers explained as a dative, is in reality a nom. fem. identical with the masc. *lâbha*, comp. Senart Mahâvastu 550.

The ablative stands for the instrumental in *javâ*, 'speedily,' Dîp. 23; and *ahimsâ*, 'through pity,' Dh. v. 270. The suffix *sâ* is very often also used to denote an instr., as in *vâhasâ*, 'by dint of,' Mil. 379; Suttavibh. ii. 158 (comp. the v. l.); *talasâ*, 'by the sole of the foot' (com. *pâdatalena*), Jât. ii. 223; *rasasâ*, 'by taste,' Jât. iii. 328; *bilasâ*, *padasâ*, Kacc. 91; *balasâ*, 'by force,' Cariy. ii. 4, 7.

In the ablative the terminations in *dhammasmâ*, *dham-*

mamhā, and in the loc., *dhammasmim*, *dhammamhi*, are taken from the pronominal inflection. Besides, we have two other terminations for the ablative, *to* = skt. *tas*, and *so* = *ças*, which occur mostly in later texts, but also in a few instances in the Jâtaka and Dh. Instances are *gaṇanāto*, 'by number,' Jât. i. 29; *cāpāto*, 'from the bow,' Dh. v. 320; *devato*, 'from a deva,' Bv. xvi. 7; *orato pāram gacchati*, *pārato oram āgacchati* 'goes from this end of the field to the further end and back again from the far end to this,' Jât. i. 57; *mettāto*, 'from friendship,' Saddhammop. v. 487, 489. With *so* we have *bhāgaso*, 'by portion,' Mil. 330; *parivattaso*, 'by turns,' Mahāparin. 60; *tīṇi yojanaso*, 'three yojanas wide,' Bv. xxi. 24.

In the locative the forms in *e* and in *smim* or *mhi* are almost equally frequent already in earlier texts, see Torp, Die Flexion des Pāli, p. 18. The forms *bilasi* and *padasi* given by Kacc. 91 do not occur anywhere else. The locative is used instead of a dative in *brāhmane*, Cariy. i. 9, 47.

In the nom. pl. of the masculine we have a form in *āse* which corresponds to the vedic nom. pl. in *āsas*, as *paṇḍitāse*, 'the learned,' Fausb. S. N. xi. 167; *rukkhāse*, 'the trees,' Jât. iii. 399, comp. Oldenberg, KZ. xxv. 315.

The acc. pl. of the masculines in *e* is somewhat difficult to explain: Kuhn compares it to the vedic pronominal forms *asme*, *yushme*, which are used likewise for the nominative and accusative, and refers to the explanation offered by Schleicher, Compendium p. 611 for these forms; comp. Torp p. 19, S. Goldschmidt, KZ. xxv. 438.

The instr. pl. in *ebhi* or *ehi* quite corresponds to the vedic form in *ebhis* (or to the ablative in *ebhyas*, as the forms are the same in Pāli). Instances for the form in *bhi* are given by Oldenberg, KZ. xxv. 316, 317. In old texts we find besides a

form in *e* corresponding to the instr. of the classical Samskrit in *ais*, for inst. *vanīpake*, used as a dative, 'to the beggars,' Cariy. i. 4, 9; *yācake*, ib. i. 8, 12; *adhane āturo jigne yācake paṭṭhike jane samanabrahmane khīne deti dānaṃ akiñcane*, ib. i. 1, 9; *guṇe dasaḥ' upāgataṃ*, instr., Jāt. i. 6.

In the plural of the neuter we have the regular form *cittāni* for nom. and acc., and besides *rūpā* for the nom., and *rūpe* for the acc., which are both taken from the masculine declension. Thus we have *satte dukkhā pamocayi*, 'he released the beings from pain,' Mah. 2; *pāṇe vihiṃsati*, v. l. for *pāṇāni hiṃsati*, 'he hurts living creatures,' Vasala sutta v. 2. The same confusion of gender occurs in *pabbatāni*, Dh. v. 188 (probably through attraction from *vanāni*), in *dukkhā*, 'sorrow,' which may be used as neuter and masc., and (according to Fausböll), even as fem.

In the locative pl. Childers gives a form *milakkhusu* from *milakkha*, 'a barbarian,' but without any reference.

Feminine in *ā*.

Kaṇhā, 'The Girl.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>kaṇhā</i> .	<i>kaṇhā, kaṇhāyo.</i>
Voc.	<i>kaṇhe.</i>	<i>kaṇhā, kaṇhāyo.</i>
Acc.	<i>kaṇhaṃ.</i>	<i>kaṇhā, kaṇhāyo.</i>
Instr.	<i>kaṇhāya.</i>	<i>kaṇhābhi, kaṇhāhi.</i>
Dat.	<i>kaṇhāya.</i>	<i>kaṇhānaṃ.</i>
Abl.	<i>kaṇhāya.</i>	<i>kaṇhābhi, kaṇhāhi.</i>
Gen.	<i>kaṇhāya.</i>	<i>kaṇhānaṃ.</i>
Loc.	<i>kaṇhāyaṃ, kaṇhāya.</i>	<i>kaṇhāsu.</i>

In the vocative we have the following exceptions: *ammā*,

annā, ambā, tātā, all signifying 'mother,' form the voc. like the nom., Kacc. p. 64 ; of *ammā*, we have besides a voc. *amma*, frequent in Dh. The loc. *kaññāya* is taken from the genitive. For the nom. pl. in *ā* and *āyo*, comp. Oldenberg, Kz. xxv. 317.

Masculine and Neuter in *i*.

Aggi, 'The Fire.'

	Singular.	Plural.
N. & V.	<i>aggi</i> .	<i>aggayo, aggi</i> .
Acc.	<i>aggiṃ</i> .	<i>aggi, aggayo</i> .
Instr.	<i>aggiṇā</i> .	<i>aggiḃhi, aggihi</i> .
Dat.	<i>aggino, aggissa</i> .	<i>aggiṇam</i> .
Abl.	<i>aggiṇā, aggismā, aggimhā</i> .	<i>aggiḃhi, aggihi</i> .
Gen.	<i>aggino, aggissa</i> .	<i>aggiṇam</i> .
Loc.	<i>aggismim, aggimhi</i> .	<i>aggiṣu</i> .

Akkhi, 'The Eye.'

	Singular.	Plural.
N. & V.	<i>akkhi, akkim</i> .	<i>akkhīni, akkhi</i> .
Acc.	<i>akkim</i> .	<i>akkhīni, akkhā</i> .
Instr.	<i>akkhindā</i> .	<i>akkhīḃhi, akkhīhi</i> .
Dat.	<i>akkhino, akkhissa</i> .	<i>akkhīnam</i> .
Abl.	<i>akkhindā, akkhismā, ak-</i> <i>khimhā</i> .	<i>akkhīḃhi, akkhīhi</i> .
Gen.	<i>akkhino, akkhissa</i> .	<i>akkhīnam</i> .
Loc.	<i>akkhismim, akkhimhi</i> .	<i>akkhīsu</i> .

A voc. *ise*, corresponding to the Skt. *ṛishe*, occurs in Rûpasiddhi, and Jât. xix. 1, 2. A gen. *mune*, is given by Oldenberg, KZ. xxv. 318. The ancient loc. in *o*, is only formed from the stem *ādi*, according to Kacc. 41, *ādo* and *ādu*, Dh. 96.

a loc. *gire*, after the analogy of the *a*-stems, occurs Jât. iii. 157. An instr. after the same analogy is *buddharamsena*, Bv. x. 28. Besides, we very often, especially in Dîp., find the simple stem used for almost any case of the sing., see Oldenberg, KZ. xxv. 318.

A nom. pl. *aggino*, is found Saddhammop. v. 586, together with the regular form *aggayo*. In the oblique cases of the plural we only find the short *i* occasionally in verses, as *ñâtihî*, *paṭisanthâravuttinam*, Dh. 146.

Instances of the nominative accusative of neuters in *m*, formed after the analogy of the *a*-stems are not very frequent, but numerous enough to show that the form really exists: *akkhim*, Dh. 140; *aṭṭhiṃ*, Das. J. 5, 12. The nominative plural *akkhî*, occurs Dh. 82.

Feminine in *ī*.

Rattī, 'The Night.'

	Singular.	Plural.
N. Voc.	<i>rattī</i> .	<i>rattiyo, rattī</i> .
Acc.	<i>rattim</i> .	<i>rattī, rattiyo</i> .
Ins. Abl.	<i>rattiyā</i> .	<i>rattībhi, rattīhi</i> .
D. Gen.	<i>rattiyā</i> .	<i>rattīnam</i> .
Loc.	<i>rattiyam, rattiyā</i> .	<i>rattīsu</i> .

The nominative plural *rattī*, is formed exactly like the corresponding form of the masculine stems *aggī*, most probably after the analogy of the *a*-stems (Torp. 41). In the genitive sing. we have a form *kasino* like *aggino* in *Kasibhâradvâjasutta* v. 1, and in the locative *ratto* = *ādo*, Dh. v. 299. The locative singular in *ā*, is properly speaking a genitive, as we have noticed also in *kaññā* confusion between these two cases. Instead of the group *iy* in the oblique cases of the singular, and in the

nominative accusative of the plural, we also find simple *y*, and this may be contracted with a preceding dental according to the rules given above, p. 49. In this way we obtain forms like *nikatyā*, from *nikṛiti*, 'fraud,' Jât. ii. 183, *nikacca* with shortened *ā*, Suttavibh. i. 90; *jaccā* for *jātiyā*; *sammuccā* for *sammutiyā*, etc., comp. Fausb., introd. to the Suttanipāṭa transl. p. xi. Instead of *rattiyā* we have *ratyā*, Dh. 178.

The declension of the stems in *ī* is very much the same as of those in *ī*:

Nadī, 'A River.'

	Singular.	Plural.
N. Voc.	<i>nadī</i> .	<i>nadiyo, najjo, nadī</i> .
Acc.	<i>nadim</i> .	<i>nadī, nadiyo, najje</i>
Ins. Abl.	<i>nadiyā, nadyā, najjā</i> .	<i>nadibhi, nadīhi</i> .
D. Gen.	<i>nadiyā, nadyā, najjā</i> .	<i>nadinam</i> .
Loc.	<i>nadiyam, najjam, nadiyā</i> .	<i>nadisū</i> .

In the ablative singular we have a contracted form *pesī* for *pesiyā*, Mil. 421, an ablative in *to* is *sirito* from *sirī* = *çrī*, Samanta Pās. 304. From *dabbī*, 'spoon,' we have the genitive *davyā*, Jât. iii. 218. The nominative plural *najjo* occurs only Kacc. 56. An enlarged form of the genitive plural in *iyānam*, is met with in a few examples: *bhaginiyānam*, Mah. 4; *tevīsa-tiyānam*, Dh. 117; *caturasītiyānam*, Dh. 350; it supposes a nominative singular in *iyā*, like *çriyā* for *çrī* in the Sanskrit of the Northern Buddhists.

The declension of *itthī* or *thī* = *strī*, 'a woman,' follows *nadī* in general; in the acc. singular we have an additional form *itthiyam* = *striyam*, in the genitive *thiyam* = *stryām*, in the locative *itthiyā*.

Masculines and Neuters in *u*.*Bhikkhu*, 'A Mendicant Friar.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>bhikkhu</i> .	<i>bhikkhavo</i> , <i>bhikkhū</i> .
Voc.	<i>bhikkhu</i> .	<i>bhikkhavo</i> , <i>bhikkhave</i> , <i>bhikkhū</i> .
Acc.	<i>bhikkhum</i> .	<i>bhikkhū</i> , <i>bhikkhavo</i> .
Instr.	<i>bhikkhundā</i> .	<i>bhikkhūbhi</i> , <i>bhikkhūhi</i> .
D. G.	<i>bhikkhuno</i> , <i>bhikkhussa</i> .	<i>bhikkhūnaṃ</i> .
Abl.	<i>bhikkhundā</i> , <i>bhikkhusmā</i> ,	<i>bhikkhūbhi</i> , <i>bhikkhūhi</i> .
	<i>bhikkhumhā</i> .	
Loc.	<i>bhikkhusmiṃ</i> , <i>bhikkhum-</i>	<i>bhikkhūsu</i> .
	<i>hi</i> .	

In the voc. sing. we find *Sutano*, Jât. iii. 329. A rest of the old gen. in *os*, survives in *hetu* = *hetos*, Dh. v. 84. In the oblique cases of the plural again we find the short *u* (like the short *i*) occasionally in verses, as *jantuhi*, Anecd. 33; *bhikkhusu*, Dh. v. 73; *jantunam*, Ten. Jât. 91. A form *bahunnam* with double *n* instead of *ū* occurs Dh. 81. Irregular forms of the nom. pl. are *jantuno* and *mittaduno* from *mittadu* = *mitradruh*, Mah. 10, *jantuyo* and *hetuyo*.

Masculines terminating in *ū* keep it in the nom. sing., as *abhibhū*, Dh. 255, but shorten it in the other cases. The plural is *abhibhū* or *abhibhuvo*, from *sabbaññū* = *sarvajñā*: *sabbaññū* or *sabbaññuno*, from *sahabhū*: *sahabhū*, *sahabhuvō*, *sahabhuno*.

The neuters in *u* form the nom. voc. acc. pl. either in *ū* or *āni*, as *madhū* or *madhūni*. The nom. and acc. sing. can take *ṃ* like the corresponding forms of the *i*-stems, as *cakkhum* *udapādi*, Kacc. 27.

Feminines in *ū*.*Dhenu*, 'A Cow.'

	Singular.	Plural.
N. V.	<i>dhenu</i> .	<i>dhenuvo, dhenuyo, dhenū</i> .
Acc.	<i>dhenum</i> .	<i>dhenū, dhenuyo</i> .
I. A.	<i>dhenuyā</i> .	<i>dhenūbhi, dhenūhi</i> .
D. G.	<i>dhenuyā</i> .	<i>dhenūnam</i> .
Loc.	<i>dhenuyam, dhenuyā</i> .	<i>dhenūsū</i> .

The nom. pl. *dhenuvo* occurs Dh. 237, where Fausböll has altered it to *dhenuyo*. *Bhū*, 'the earth,' makes in the loc. sing. *bhuvi*, Kacc. 45; *massu*, though being a neuter, forms its gen. according to the fem. fashion *massuyā*, Jāt. iii. 315. An abl. with the termination *to* occurs in *natthuto*, 'into the nose,' M. viii. 1, 11, *jambuto*, Bv. xvii. 9, the loc. *dhātuyā*, C. ix. 1, 4.

The feminines terminating in *ū* follow the declension of *dhenu* with the only exception of the nom. sing., which may adopt the form in *ū* as *vadhū*, 'a wife,' Ab. 230 (but *vadhū*, Suttavibh. i. 18); *sarabhū*=*sarayu*, 'name of a river'; *camū*=*camū*, 'an army'; *pādū*=*pādū*, 'a shoe'; *sassū*=*çvaçrū*, 'mother-in-law.'

Stems ending in a diphthong.

Go, 'A Cow.'

	Singular.	Plural.
N. V.	<i>go</i> .	<i>gavo, gāvo</i> .
Acc.	<i>gavam, gāvam, gārum</i> .	<i>gavo, gāvo</i> .
Instr.	<i>gavena, gāvena</i> .	<i>gobhi, gohi</i> .
D. G.	<i>gavassa, gāvassa</i> .	<i>gavam, gonam, gunnam</i> .

	Singular.	Plural.
Abl.	<i>gavā, gāvā, gavaśmā, gā- vaśmā, gavamhā, gā- vamhā.</i>	<i>gobhi, gohi.</i>
Loc.	<i>gave, gāve, gavaśmim, gāvasmim, gavamhi, gāvamhi.</i>	<i>gosu, gavesu, āvesu.</i>

We find throughout the declension a new stem, *gava* or *gāva*, which is inflected like a masculine *a*-stem; we meet even with a nom. pl. *gavā*, Jāt. i. 336, together with the nom. pl. *gāvīyo*, of the fem. *gāvī*.

All other diphthongic stems have disappeared in Pāli : *nau* has become *nāvā* following the declension of the feminine *ā*-stems, *dyu* has become *dīvo* with the only exception of the instr. sing. *divā*, which is used like an adverb in Pāli.

CONSONANTAL STEMS.

Stems in nasals.

These are considered by the native grammarians as belonging to the vowel-stems.

(1) in *an*.

Attan = ātman, 'Self.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>attā.</i>	<i>attāno.</i>
Voc.	<i>atta, attā.</i>	<i>attāno.</i>
Acc.	<i>attānaṃ, attam.</i>	<i>attāno.</i>
Instr.	<i>attand, [attena].</i>	<i>attanebhi, attanehi.</i>
D. G.	<i>attano.</i>	<i>attānaṃ.</i>
Abl.	<i>attand.</i>	<i>attanebhi, attanehi.</i>
Loc.	<i>attani.</i>	<i>attanesu.</i>

A parallel form is *âtumâ* with the same inflexion, and besides, *tumo*, Fausb. S. N. 170. The instr. *attena*, the abl. *attasmâ*, *attamhâ*, and the loc. *attasmim*, *attamhi*, given by Clough, have not yet been found in any old text.

Brahman, 'Brahma.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>brahmâ.</i>	<i>brahmâno.</i>
Voc.	<i>brahme.</i>	<i>brahmâno.</i>
Acc.	<i>brahmānam, brahmam.</i>	<i>brahmâno.</i>
Instr.	<i>brahmanā, brahmunā.</i>	<i>brahmebhi, brahmehi.</i>
D. G.	<i>brahmuno, [brahmassa].</i>	<i>brahmānam, brahmūnam.</i>
Abl.	<i>brahmanā, brahmunā.</i>	<i>brahmebhi, brahmehi.</i>
Loc.	<i>brahmani.</i>	<i>brahmesu.</i>

The voc. sing. *brahme*, Kacc. 96, is formed after the analogy of the *i*-stems.

Râjan, 'A King.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>râjâ.</i>	<i>râjâno.</i>
Voc.	<i>râja, râjâ.</i>	<i>râjâno.</i>
Acc.	<i>râjānam, râjam.</i>	<i>râjâno.</i>
Instr.	<i>raññâ, râjena.</i>	<i>râjûbhi, râjûhi, râjebhi, râjehi.</i>
D. G.	<i>rañño, râjino, [râjassa].</i>	<i>raññam, râjūnam, râjānam.</i>
Abl.	<i>raññâ.</i>	<i>râjûbhi, râjûhi, râjebhi, râjehi.</i>
Loc.	<i>raññe, râjini.</i>	<i>râjûsu, râjesu.</i>

We find an instr. *muddhanâ* from *muddhâ*, 'the head,' Mah. 117, and a loc. *muddhani*, ib. 108; an instr. *râjanâ*, which

I think cannot be correct, has been given by Fausböll, Jât. iii. 180, and a gen. *raññassa*, Jât. iii. 70. The forms *rājaṃ*, *rājena* suppose a stem *rāja*, *rājino* and *rājini* are simply formed by epenthesis; in the plural we have to adopt a stem *rāju*, from which all the cases can be derived. The legend PAONANO PAO on the Indobactrian coins does not represent a Pâli form *rājunaṇaṃ rājā* with double suffix, as Kuhn believed, but is a Skythian title formed on the model of *rājādirājā*, comp. Oldenberg, Ind. Ant. x. 215 note.

Some substantives belonging to this declension in Samskrit follow the *a*-declension in Pâli, as *Vissakammo*=Viçvakarman, 'name of a celestial architect,' spelt *Vissukamma*, Cariy i. 9, 41; *vivattachaddo*=vivittachadman, 'one by whom the veil is rolled away;' *puṭhulomo*=prithuloman, 'a fish;' *athabbana*=atharvan, *yakana*=yakan, 'the liver;' *chaka*, *chakana*=çakan, 'dung.'

Yuvan, 'Young.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>yuvā.</i>	<i>yuvāno, yuvānā.</i>
Voc.	<i>yuva, yuvā, yuvāna, yuvānā.</i>	<i>yuvāno, yuvānā.</i>
Acc.	<i>yuvānaṃ, yuvam.</i>	<i>yuvāne, yuve.</i>
Instr.	<i>yuvānā, yuvānena, yuvena.</i>	<i>yuvānebhi, yuvānehi, yuvebhi, yuvehi.</i>
D. G.	<i>yuvānassa, yuvassa.</i>	<i>yuvānānaṃ, yuvānaṃ.</i>
Abl.	<i>yuvānā, yuvānasmā, yuvānamhā.</i>	<i>yuvānebhi, yuvānehi, yuvebhi, yuvehi.</i>
Loc.	<i>yuvāne, yuvānasmim, yuvānamhi, yuve, yuvasmim, yuvamhi.</i>	<i>yuvānesu, yuvāsu, yuvesu.</i>

Most of these forms suppose a new stem *yuvāna*, formed from the acc. sing. Besides we have a stem *yūna*, from which the nom. sing. *yūno*, f. *yūnī*, is formed, according to Kacc. 328.

Sā = *çvan*, 'A Dog.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>sā</i> .	<i>sā</i> , [<i>sāno</i>].
Voc.	<i>sa</i> .	<i>sā</i> .
Acc.	<i>saṃ</i> , [<i>sānaṃ</i>].	<i>se</i> .
Instr.	<i>sena</i> .	<i>sābhi</i> , <i>sāhi</i> .
Dat.	<i>sāya</i> , <i>sassa</i> .	<i>sānaṃ</i> .
Abl.	<i>sā</i> , <i>sasmā</i> , <i>samhā</i> .	<i>sābhi</i> , <i>sāhi</i> .
Gen.	<i>sassa</i> .	<i>sānaṃ</i> .
Loc.	<i>se</i> , <i>sasmim</i> , <i>samhi</i> .	<i>sāsu</i> .

Besides we have for the nom. sing. the forms *sāno*, *svāno*, *suvāno*, *soṇo* and *sūṇo*. Other words following the same inflection are *paccakkhadhammā* = *pratyakshadharman*, 'whose virtues are evident,' and *gandīvadhanvā*, 'using the bow Gāṇḍīva,' Kacc. 182.

A few substantives form only some cases according to the nasal inflection, while the other cases follow another declension, as *kammam* = *karman*, 'action,' which forms the instr. sing. *kammunā*, *kammanā* and *kammena*, the gen. *kammuno* and *kammassa*, Pât. 11; abl. *kammā*, Dh. v. 127, loc. *kammani*. *Thāmo* = *sthāmas*, 'strength,' forms part of its cases after the nasal inflection as the instr. *thāmunā*, Kacc. 81, but generally *thāmasā*, Suttavibh. ii. 134, Mah. 143 (Turnour *thāmaṇḍā*), gen. *thāmuno*. In the same way *addhā* = *adhvan*, 'a road,' forms *addhano* and *addhuno*; *bhasmam* = *bhasman*, 'ashes,' loc. *bhasmani*.

Pumā = पुम्, 'a man.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>pumā.</i>	<i>pumāno.</i>
Voc.	<i>pumam.</i>	<i>pumāno.</i>
Acc.	<i>pumam.</i>	<i>pumāno.</i>
Instr.	<i>pumānā, pumunā, pumena.</i>	<i>pumānebhi, pumānehi.</i>
D. G.	<i>pumuno, pumassa.</i>	<i>pumānam.</i>
Abl.	<i>pumunā.</i>	<i>pumānebhi, pumānehi.</i>
Loc.	<i>pumāne, pume, pumasmim,</i> <i>pumamhi.</i>	<i>pumāsu, pumesu.</i>

A nom. sing. *pumo* occurs Cariy. iii. 6, 2, similar to *tumo* = âtmā, Fausb. S. N. 170.

(2). Adjectives terminating in *mant* and *vant*.

Guṇavant, 'virtuous.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>guṇavā, guṇavanto.</i>	<i>guṇavanto, guṇavantā.</i>
Voc.	<i>guṇavam, guṇava, guṇavā.</i>	<i>guṇavanto, guṇavantā.</i>
Acc.	<i>guṇavantam, guṇavam.</i>	<i>guṇavante.</i>
Instr.	<i>guṇavatā, guṇavantena.</i>	<i>guṇavantebhi, guṇavantehi.</i>
D. G.	<i>guṇavato, guṇavantassa,</i> <i>guṇavassa.</i>	<i>guṇavatam, guṇavantānam.</i>
Abl.	<i>guṇavatā.</i>	<i>guṇavantebhi, guṇavantehi.</i>
Loc.	<i>guṇavati, guṇavante, guṇa-</i> <i>vantasmim, guṇavantamhi.</i>	<i>guṇavantesu.</i>

The neuter has in the nom. voc. acc. sing. *guṇavam*, pl. *guṇavanti, guṇavantāni*. The fem. is made by adding *ī* to the strong or the weak form, *guṇavanti* or *guṇavati*; it follows the declension of the *ī*-stems.

The participles in *ant* follow this declension with the only exception of the nom. sing. which they form in *aṃ* or *anto*, as *gaccham*, *gacchanto*, 'going.'

A nom. from the weak form *jīvato* for *jīvanto* occurs in a verse, Jât. iii. 539 ; an acc. *vajataṃ*, Vasala Sutta, v. 6 ; *asataṃ*, Dh. v. 73, Vasala Sutta v. 16. From the root *kar* we have the part. nom. pl. masc. *karontā*, Dh. v. 66 ; nom. sing. fem. *karontī*, Dh. 246 ; gen. sing. masc. *karoto*, Dh. v. 116 ; instr. *saṃkhārontena*, in a passage of Petavatthuvannanā quoted I. O. C. p. 79 ; all these forms follow the 3rd pers. pl. *karonti*. Besides we have the gen. *anukubbassa*, Jât. iii. 108, rendered in the Mahāvastu by *kṛtyānukāryasya*.

Arahant, 'an Arhat,' forms the nom. sing. *arahaṃ* and *arahā*, the former being the regular one, the latter following the analogy of *mahā*. In the nom. pl. we have *arahanto* and *arahā*, Dip. 30, Anecd. 7. A similar nom. pl. *mahā* occurs Ab. 413. Kacc. 94 gives a nom. sing. *mahaṃ* which does not occur anywhere else ; the nom. sing. *mahā* occurs separately, Dh. 298, Mah. 132, and besides very often in compounds.

In the pl. we have one instance of an old form *sabbhi* = *sadbbhis*, Dh. v. 151.

In the neuter nom. sing. we have the forms *brahā*, Ab. 700, *madhuvā*, Dh. v. 69 ; *asam* = *asat*, Jât. ii. 32.

Of participles of the perfect in *vaṃs* we have *bhayadassivā* = *oḍarçivams* ; *vidvaṃs* forms nom. sing. *aviddasu*, Dh. 47 ; nom. pl. *aviddasū*, C. xii. 1, 3 ; besides we have *sabbavidū*, Dh. v. 353 ; *lokavidū* = *lokavid* of the Northern Buddhists, Lotus 860.

Bhavam, 'Sir.'

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>bhavam</i> .	<i>bhavanto, bhonto, bhavantā.</i>
Voc. <i>bho, bhonta.</i>	<i>bhavanto, bhonto, bhante.</i>
Acc. <i>bhavantam, bhotam.</i>	<i>bhavante, bhonte.</i>
Instr. <i>bhavatā, bhotā, bhavantena.</i>	
D. G. <i>bhavato, bhoto, bhavantassa.</i>	
Abl. <i>bhavatā, bhotā.</i>	

The fem. shows the forms *bhavantī, bhavatī, bhotī*, Pl. *bhotiyo*.

(3). Stems in *in*.*Dandīn*, 'a mendicant.'

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>dandī.</i>	<i>dandino, dandī.</i>
Voc. <i>dandī.</i>	<i>dandino, dandī.</i>
Acc. <i>dandīnam, dandīm.</i>	<i>dandino, dandī.</i>
Instr. <i>dandīnā.</i>	<i>dandībhi, dandīhi.</i>
D. G. <i>dandino, dandissa.</i>	<i>dandīnam.</i>
Abl. <i>dandīnā, dandismā, dan-</i> <i>dimhā.</i>	<i>dandībhi, dandīhi.</i>
Loc. <i>dandīni, dandismim, dan-</i> <i>dimhi.</i>	<i>dandīsu.</i>

At M. vi. 28, 11, we have an acc. pl. *brahmacariye*, of *brahmacārin*, 'holy;' and at Mahāparinibb. 16, we have the same passage with the v. l. *brahmacārayo*; the nom. pl. *sabrahmacārī* occurs Mahāparin. 5. *Dīpī*=*dvīpin*, 'a leopard,' forms the nom. pl. *dīpiyo*, Jāt. xiv. 1, 27. The oblique cases of the plural have a short *i* only in verses: *pāṇinam*, Dh. 135, *anuyoginam*, Dh. v. 209. An instance of a nom. sing. with *ī* is *seṭṭhi*

=çreshṭin, 'a treasurer, merchant,' Jât. i. 120, 122, where all MSS. agree in the spelling.

Examples of an enlarged stem are *sāramatino* nom. sing. = *sāramati*, Mil. 420; *verinesu* from *verin*, 'hostile,' Dh. v. 197.

(4). Stems in *r*.

Satthā = çāstri, 'the teacher.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>satthā</i> .	<i>satthāro</i> .
Voc.	<i>sattha</i> , <i>satthā</i> .	<i>satthāro</i> .
Acc.	<i>satthāraṃ</i> , <i>sattharaṃ</i> .	<i>satthāro</i> , <i>satthāre</i> .
Instr.	<i>sattharā</i> , <i>satthārā</i> , <i>satthundā</i> .	<i>satthārebhi</i> , <i>satthārehi</i> .
D. G.	<i>satthu</i> , <i>satthussa</i> .	<i>satthānaṃ</i> , <i>satthārānaṃ</i> .
Abl.	<i>sattharā</i> , <i>satthārā</i> .	<i>satthārebhi</i> , <i>satthārehi</i> .
Loc.	<i>satthari</i> .	<i>satthāresu</i> .

Here also some stems have adopted the *a*-declension, as *sallakatta* = çalyakarṭri, 'a physician,' Mil. 110, Att. 208, to which Childers compares *nāhapita* = snāpitri, 'a barber;' *kattara* = karṭri, 'a weak man,' in *kattaraḍaṇḍa*, M. v. 6, 2; *kattarasuppa*, M. vii. 1, 4; and *theta* = sthâtri, 'firm,' Gr. 5. In composition the base generally terminates in *u*, as *sotu* = çrotṭri, 'hearer,' Daṭṭh. vi. 6 (the gen. pl. *sotūnaṃ* occurs in a passage of the Mahāvagga of the Dīghanikāya, quoted I. O. C. 69); *bhattu* = bharṭri, 'husband,' Jât. ii. 348; *mandhātu* = mandhâtri, Jât. ii. 310. The voc. sing. *sattha* occurs Kacc. 116; the acc. *sattharaṃ*, Bv. xxii. 14; an instr. *satthāya*, Dh. 87; the gen. *satthussa*, Mah. 240.

Pitā = *pitṛi*, 'a father.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>pitā.</i>	<i>pitaro.</i>
Voc.	<i>pita, pitā.</i>	<i>pitaro.</i>
Acc.	<i>pitaram, pitum.</i>	<i>pitaro, pitare.</i>
Instr.	<i>pitārā, pitunā, petyā.</i>	<i>pitarebhi, pitarehi, pitūbhi, pitūhi.</i>
D. G.	<i>pitū, pituno, pitussa.</i>	<i>pitārānam, pitānam, pitūnam, pitunnam.</i>
Abl.	<i>pitārā.</i>	<i>pitarebhi, pitarehi, pitūbhi, pitūhi.</i>
Loc.	<i>pitari.</i>	<i>pitaresu, pitūsu.</i>

Mātā = *māṭṛi*, 'a mother.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>mātā.</i>	<i>mātaro.</i>
Voc.	<i>māta, mātā.</i>	<i>mātaro.</i>
Acc.	<i>mātaram.</i>	<i>mātaro, mātare.</i>
Instr.	} <i>mātārā, mātuyā, mātýā.</i>	{ <i>mātarebhi, mātarehi, mātū- bhi, mātūhi.</i>
Abl.		
D. G.	<i>mātu, mātuyā, mātýā.</i>	<i>mātārānam, mātānam, mātū- nam, mātunnam.</i>
Loc.	<i>mātari, mātuyam, mātýam, mātuyā, mātýā.</i>	<i>mātaresu, mātūsu.</i>

The acc. sing. *pitum* occurs Cariy. ii. 9, 3; the instr. *mātýā* and *petyā*, Jât. 527, v. 3, 5; the gen. *mātussa*, given by Kacc. 98, is not found anywhere else, and belongs most probably to a *bāhuvrīhi* (Torp. 33). An abl. *pitito* and *mātito*, 'on father's and on mother's side,' occurs Kacc. 102, and in a passage from a commentary quoted by Alwis, Introd. xlv.

The nom. pl. *mâtârapitaro*, where both stems are inflected, occurs Ang. p. 121; the gen. *mâtâpitunnaṃ*, Ten Jât. 92. An acc. pl. *bhâte* occurs Dip. 6, 21, 22.

The declension of *dhītā*, 'daughter,' is on the whole the same as that of *mâtā*; we find, however, a voc. *dhîte*, Dh. 364, Jât. iii. 21; and an acc. pl. *dhītā*, Jât. i. 240. In composition we have *dhītiṭṭhāna*, Mah. 222; *dhītuhetu*, Mil. 117.

Sakhi, 'a friend.'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>sakhā</i> .	<i>sakhāyo, sakhāno, sakhino</i> .
Voc.	<i>sakha, sakhā, sakhi, sakhi,</i> <i>sakhe.</i>	<i>sakhāyo, sakhāno, sakhino</i> .
Acc.	<i>sakhānaṃ, sakhaṃ, sakhā-</i> <i>raṃ.</i>	<i>sakhī, sakhāyo, sakhāno,</i> <i>sakhino.</i>
Instr. }	<i>sakhinā</i> .	{ <i>sakhārebhi, sakhārehi, sakhe-</i> <i>bhi, sakhehi.</i>
Abl. }		
D. G.	<i>sakhino, sakhissa.</i>	<i>sakhārānaṃ, sakhīnaṃ.</i>
Loc.	<i>sakhe.</i>	<i>sakhāresu, sakhesu.</i>

The acc. *sakhaṃ* occurs Jât. ii. 348; an abl. *sakhārasmā* is found Jât. iii. 534; *sakhito*, Att. 216. Acc. pl. *sakhī*, Att. 203.

(5). Stems in *s*.

Manas, 'the mind.'

Singular.

N. V. A.	<i>mano, manam.</i>
Instr.	<i>manasā, manena.</i>
D. G.	<i>manaso, manassa.</i>
Abl.	<i>manasā, manasmā, manamhā.</i>
Loc.	<i>manasi, mane, manasmim, manamhi.</i>

The plural of *manas* not in use. The others form it after the *a*-declension. The nom. acc. *manam* occurs Dh. v. 96, Cariy. i. 8, 5; *rajam*, 'dust,' Dh. v. 313, but *rajo* (with the adj. in the masc.), Dh. v. 125; *sumedham*, Dh. v. 208, but *sumedhaso*, Dh. v. 29; voc. *dummedha*, Dh. v. 394; a gen. *tapassa* occurs Jât. i. 293; nom. pl. *sumandâ*, Kh. 6.

Candramas, 'the moon,' becomes *candimâ*; jaras, 'old age,' *jarâ*; and apsaras, 'a celestial nymph,' *accharâ*; all these follow the *â*-declension.

The comparatives in *yo*, *yyo*, follow the declension of *mano*; *seyyo*=*çreyas*, 'better'; *gariyo*=*gariyas*, from *guru*, 'heavy.'

Āyus, 'life.'

	Singular.	Plural.
N. V. A.	<i>āyu</i> , <i>āyum</i> .	<i>āyūni</i> , <i>āyū</i> .
Instr.	<i>āyusā</i> , <i>āyundā</i> .	<i>āyūbhi</i> , <i>āyūhi</i> .
D. G.	<i>āyussa</i> , <i>āyuno</i> .	<i>āyūnam</i> .
Loc.	<i>āyusi</i> , <i>āyuni</i> .	<i>āyūsu</i> .

The instr. *āyusā* occurs Kh. 16; *āyundā*, Dh. 288; the gen. *āyussa*, Mah. 220; *āyuno*, Dh. 128.

§ 15. Comparison of Adjectives.

Adjectives with vowel bases form their comparison in two ways:—

(1) By adding *tara* for the comparative and *tama* for the superlative.

(2) By adding *yo*, *yo* for the comparative and *itt̐ha* for the superlative.

Thus, from *pāpa*, 'bad,' we can form *pāpatara*, *pāpatama*

and *pāpiyo*, *pāpiṭṭha*, Kacc. 196. The comparative of no. 1 may be combined with the superlative of no. 2; thus we obtain *pāpiṭṭhatara*, C. i. 6, 2. Besides, the comparative of no. 2 may be increased by the addition of the suffix *ika*, which gives us *pāpiyyasika* in *tassapāpiyyasikākamma*, M. ix. 6, 2; and with contraction *pāpissika*.

Adjectives terminating in *mant*, *vant* and *vin*, drop these suffixes before the comparative and superlative suffixes, as for inst. *guṇavā* comp. *guṇiyo*, sup. *guṇiṭṭha*; *medhāvī* comp. *medhiyo*, sup. *medhiṭṭha*.

Some adjectives form their comp. and sup. from entirely different bases:

<i>antika</i> , 'near.'	Comp. <i>nediyo</i> .	Sup. <i>nediṭṭha</i> .
<i>bālha</i> , 'strong.'	„ <i>sādhiyo</i> .	„ <i>sādhiṭṭha</i> .
<i>vuddha</i> , 'old.'	„ <i>jeyyo</i> .	„ <i>jetṭha</i> .
<i>appa</i> , 'small.'	„ <i>kaniyo</i> .	„ <i>kaniṭṭha</i> .
<i>yuvā</i> , 'young.'		
<i>pasattha</i> , 'excellent.'	„ <i>seyyo</i> .	„ <i>setṭha</i> .

§ 16. Pronominal Inflection.

(1) Personal Pronouns of the First and Second Persons.

First Person.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>aṃ</i> .	<i>vayaṃ, mayāṃ, amhe</i> .
Acc.	<i>maṃ, mamaṃ</i> .	<i>asme, amhe, amhākaṃ</i> .
Instr. Abl.	<i>mayā</i> .	<i>amhebbhi, amhehi</i> .
Dat. Gen.	<i>mama, mamaṃ</i> .	<i>amhākaṃ, amhaṃ</i> .
	<i>mayhaṃ, amhaṃ</i> .	
Loc.	<i>mayi</i> .	<i>amhesu</i> .

Second Person.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>tvam, tuvaṃ.</i>	<i>tumhe.</i>
Acc.	<i>tvam, tuvaṃ.</i> <i>taṃ, tavaṃ.</i>	<i>tumhe, tumhākaṃ.</i>
Instr. Abl.	<i>tvayā, tayā.</i>	<i>tumhebhi, tumhehi.</i>
Dat. Gen.	<i>tava, tavaṃ.</i> <i>tuyhaṃ, tumhaṃ.</i>	<i>tumhākaṃ, tumhaṃ.</i>
Loc.	<i>tvayi, tayi.</i>	<i>tumhesu.</i>

Besides, we have the enclitic forms: *me, te* for instr. dat. and gen. sing.; *no, vo* for acc. dat. and gen. pl.

The old form of the nom. pl. *vayaṃ* occurs Dh. 105, the acc. pl. *asme*, Jât. iii. 359. The acc. pl. *amhākaṃ* and *tumhākaṃ* are borrowed from the gen. The nom. pl. *amhe* and the gen. *amhaṃ* and *tumhaṃ*, *amhānaṃ* and *tumhānaṃ*, are only found in Kacc. 83, 84.

The enclitic forms *no* and *vo* may also be used for the nom., according to Kacc. 78.

(2) The Demonstrative Pronoun.

(a) Stem *ta*, 'this.'

Singular.

	Masc. and Neuter.	Feminine.
Nom.	<i>so, sa, taṃ (taḍ).</i>	<i>sā.</i>
Acc.	<i>taṃ, taṃ (taḍ).</i>	<i>taṃ.</i>
Instr.	<i>tena.</i>	<i>tāya.</i>
Dat. Gen.	<i>tassa.</i>	<i>tassā, tassāya, tissā, tissāya, tāya.</i>
Abl.	<i>tasmā, tamhā.</i>	<i>tāya.</i>
Loc.	<i>tasmim, tamhi.</i>	<i>tassam, tāsam, tissam, tāyam.</i>

Plural.

Masc. and Neuter.	Feminine.
Nom. Acc. <i>te, tāni.</i>	<i>tā, tāyo.</i>
Instr. Abl. <i>tebhi, tehi.</i>	<i>tābhi, tāhi.</i>
Dat. Gen. <i>tesam, tesānam.</i>	<i>tāsam, tāśānam.</i>
Loc. <i>tesu.</i>	<i>tāsu.</i>

For all the forms beginning with *t* we may substitute the corresponding forms of the stem *na*. At Kacc. 89, the following forms are given: *nāya, nam, ne, nesu, namhi, nāhi*. Besides we have the stems *eta* and *ena*, which are inflected like *ta* and *na* respectively.

In the nom. sing. we generally have *so*, the form of the substantives, *sa* occurs Dh. v. 142, 267, 268. A gen. sing. masc. *tasmassa* is found Anecd. 15, and at Mil. 136 all MSS. give *tāsam* for the loc. sing. fem., which is no doubt a correct form, comp. *nesam*, ib. 179.

(b) Stem *ima*, 'this.'*Singular.*

Masc. and Neuter.	Feminine.
Nom. <i>ayam, idam, imam.</i>	<i>ayam.</i>
Acc. <i>imam, idam, imam.</i>	<i>imam.</i>
Instr. <i>imindā, anena.</i>	<i>imāya.</i>
D. G. <i>imassa, assa.</i>	<i>imissā, imissāya, imāya, assā, assāya.</i>
Abl. <i>imasmā, imamhā, asmā.</i>	<i>imāya.</i>
Loc. <i>imasmim, imamhi, asmim.</i>	<i>imissam, imāsam, imāyam, assam.</i>

Plural.

	Masc. and Neuter.	Feminine.
N. A.	<i>ime, imāni.</i>	<i>imā, imāyo.</i>
In. Ab.	<i>imebhi, imehi, ebhi, ehi.</i>	<i>imābhi, imāhi.</i>
D. G.	<i>imesam, imesānam,</i> <i>esam, esānam.</i>	<i>imāsam, imāsānam.</i>
Loc.	<i>imesu.</i>	<i>imāsu.</i>

In *tadaminā* for *tadiminā*, Vasala Sutta, v. 22, *i* is changed to *a* by dissimilation.

(c) Stem *am*, 'that.'*Singular.*

	Masc. and Neuter.	Feminine.
Nom.	<i>asu, adum.</i>	<i>asu.</i>
Acc.	<i>amum, adum.</i>	<i>amum.</i>
Instr.	<i>amunā.</i>	<i>amuyā.</i>
Dat. Gen.	<i>amussa.</i>	<i>amussā, amuyā.</i>
Abl.	<i>amusmā, amumhā.</i>	<i>amuyā.</i>
Loc.	<i>amusmin, amumhi.</i>	<i>amussam, amuyam.</i>

Plural.

	Masc. and Fem.	Neuter.
Nom. Acc.	<i>amā, amuyo.</i>	<i>amā, amāni.</i>
Instr. Abl.	<i>amābhi, amāhi.</i>	
Dat. Gen.	<i>amāsam, amāśānam.</i>	
Loc.	<i>amāsu.</i>	

(3) *Relative Pronoun.*Stem *ya*, 'which.'*Singular.*

	Masc. and Neuter.	Feminine.
Nom.	<i>yo, yaṃ (yad).</i>	<i>yā.</i>
Acc.	<i>yaṃ, yaṃ (yad).</i>	<i>yaṃ.</i>
Instr.	<i>yena.</i>	<i>yāya.</i>
Dat. Gen.	<i>yassa.</i>	<i>yassā, yāya.</i>
Abl.	<i>yamhā.</i>	<i>yāya.</i>
Loc.	<i>yasmim, yamhi.</i>	<i>yassam, yāyam.</i>

Plural.

	Masc. and Neuter.	Feminine.
Nom.	<i>ye, yāni.</i>	<i>yā, yāyo.</i>
Acc.	<i>ye, yāni.</i>	<i>yā, yāyo.</i>
Instr.	<i>yebhi, yehi.</i>	<i>yābhi, yāhi.</i>
Dat. Gen.	<i>yesam.</i>	<i>yāsam.</i>
Abl.	<i>yebhi, yehi.</i>	<i>yābhi, yāhi.</i>
Loc.	<i>yesu.</i>	<i>yāsu.</i>

(4) *Interrogative Pronouns.*Stem *ka*, 'which.'

The inflexion of this stem is like that of *ya* with the following exceptions: The nom. sing. neut. is *kim*; in the dat. and gen. masc. and neut. sing. we have *kassa* and *kissa*, in the loc. *kasim*, *kamhi*, *kismim* and *kimhi*.

The indefinite pronouns are formed by adding the particles *ci*, *api* and *cana* to the forms of the interrogative.

Besides, we have a number of words which although not being pronouns in the true sense of the word, still follow the pronominal inflexion: First of all, possessives like *madiya*, *māmakā*, 'mine,' *umhadiya*, 'our,' would belong to this class, but of these we only find nominatives in our texts. Next come the adjectives composed with *dr̥iç*, as *mādisa*, 'like me;' *etādisa* or *etārisa*, and *īdisa*, 'like this;' *kīdisa*, 'like what;' *cirassam* for *cirassa*, 'long since,' seems to be a pronominal form.

By adding the suffixes *tara*, *tama* (already found in comparison of adjectives) to the interrogative stems, we obtain the pronominal adjectives *katara* and *katama*, which do not differ in their signification much from the single pronoun.

The other adjectives inflected according to the pronominal inflexion, are *sabbā* and *vissa* = *sarva* and *viçva*, 'all;' *añña* = *anya*, 'other,' with its derivatives *aññatara*, *aññatama*; *itara*, 'other;' *uttara*, *uttama*, 'higher;' *adhara*, 'inferior;' *apara*, *para*, 'other;' *dakkhiṇa*, 'right;' *pubba*, 'former;' *amuka* and *asuka*, 'this.' The numeral for one, *eka*, also follow the same declension.

The grammarian Moggallāna (Alwis Catal., 184), asserts that these adjectives can also follow the regular declension of the *a*-stems, and gives some passages from unknown texts.

§ 17. Numerals.

(1) Cardinals.

1	<i>eka</i> .	5	<i>pañca</i> .
2	<i>dvi</i> .	6	<i>cha</i> .
3	<i>ti</i> .	7	<i>satta</i> .
4	<i>catu</i> .	8	<i>aṭṭha</i> .

9 <i>nava</i> .	19 <i>ekūnavīsam</i> , <i>ekūnavīsati</i> .
10 <i>dasa</i> .	20 <i>vīsam</i> , <i>vīsati</i> .
11 <i>ekādasa</i> , <i>ekārāsa</i> .	30 <i>tīsam</i> , <i>tīśati</i> .
12 <i>dvādasa</i> , <i>bārāsa</i> .	40 <i>cattārīsam</i> , <i>cattālīsam</i> , <i>tālīsam</i> .
13 <i>terasa</i> .	50 <i>paññāsam</i> , <i>paññāsa</i> .
14 <i>catuddasa</i> , <i>coddasa</i> , <i>cuddasa</i> .	60 <i>saṭṭhi</i> , <i>saṭṭhim</i> .
15 <i>pañcadasa</i> .	70 <i>sattati</i> , <i>sattari</i> .
16 <i>soḷasa</i> .	80 <i>asīti</i> .
17 <i>sattadasa</i> , <i>sattarāsa</i> .	90 <i>navuti</i> .
18 <i>aṭṭhādāsa</i> , <i>aṭṭhārāsa</i> .	100 <i>satam</i> .
	1000 <i>sahasam</i> .

The forms *vīsam*, *tīsam*, etc., show that the termination *ti* of the Sanskrit, can be replaced in Pāli by the anusvāra. We find the anusvāra occasionally also where it has no right to be, as in *dvādasam*, Mah. 8; *saṭṭhim* = shashti, Dh. 211. When the nasal is dropped the remaining *a* may be lengthened.

The intermediate numerals between *vīsam* and *tīsam*, etc., are regular, with the only exception that instead of *dvi* we generally find *dvā*, *bā* (or *dva*, *ba* before a double consonant), as in *dvāvīsati*, *bāvīsati*, *dvattīsa*, *battīsa*, *dvenavuti*, and instead of *ti*, *te* as in *tevīsati*. For caturāṣṭi we have *cullā-sīti*, for pañcaviṃśati *paññuvīsam*, Jât. iii. 138.

From *cha* we have a plural *chalāni*, Dīp. 108, and for twelve *dviccha* = dvishash, Ab. 195.

About the declension of *eka*, see the Pronouns.

Dvi and the synonymous *ubho* have the following inflexion :

N. A. <i>dve</i> , <i>duve</i> .	<i>ubho</i> , <i>ubhe</i> .
I. A. <i>dvībhi</i> , <i>dvīhi</i> .	<i>ubhobhi</i> , <i>ubhohi</i> , <i>ubhebhi</i> , <i>ubhehi</i> .
D. G. <i>dvinnam</i> , <i>duvinnam</i> .	<i>ubhinnam</i> .
Loc. <i>dvīsu</i> .	<i>ubhosu</i> , <i>ubhesu</i> .

Ubho = Skt. *ubhai* is one of the few rests of the Dual remaining in Pâli (see above, p. 65).

In the numerals *ti* and *catu* we have separate forms for the fem., very much in the same way as in Skt. :

Masc. and Neuter.

Nom. Acc.	<i>tayo</i> ,	<i>tīni</i> .	<i>cattāro</i> , <i>caturō</i> ,	<i>cattāri</i> .
Instr. Abl.	<i>tībhi</i> ,	<i>tīhi</i> .	<i>catubbhi</i> , <i>catūbhi</i> ,	<i>catūhi</i> .
Dat. Gen.	<i>tiṇṇam</i> , <i>tiṇṇannam</i> .		<i>catunṇam</i> .	
Loc.	<i>tīsu</i> .		<i>catūsu</i> .	

Feminine.

Nom. Acc.	<i>tisso</i> .	<i>catasso</i> .
Instr. Abl.	<i>tībhi</i> , <i>tīhi</i> .	<i>catubbhi</i> , <i>catūbhi</i> , <i>catūhi</i> .
Dat. Gen.	<i>tissannam</i> .	<i>catassannam</i> .
Loc.	<i>tīsu</i> .	<i>catūsu</i> .

Pañca forms the instr. abl. *pañcahi*, Gen. Dat. *pañcannam*, Loc. *pañcasu*, and this is the declension all numerals in *a* follow.

The numerals in *i* are declined like the fem. *i*-stems, *satam* and *sahassam* like neuters in *am*.

Satam and *sahassam*, in conjunction with a noun, can be joined to nouns in the following ways :

(1) With a noun in the gen. pl., as *itthīnam pañca satāni*, 'five hundred women.'

(2) With a noun in the nom. pl. (*satam* being either in the sing. or in the pl.), as *pañcasatam yatī*, '500 yatis,' or *pañcasatā bhikkhū*, '500 mendicants.'

(3) With a noun in the sing., as *chacattālīsam vassam atikamma*, 'after the lapse of 146 years.'

(4) As a compound, the numeral being the last part, as *gāthāsataṃ*, '100 stanzas.'

(5) As a compound, the numeral being the first part, as *sahasajātīlā*, 'a thousand jāṭilas.'

Another form of *sahassa* is *sahassī*, which is used promiscuously as a masc. and fem. in connection with *cakkavāla* or *vasudhā*, &c., as *dasasahassī-cakkavāle*, 'in ten thousand worlds,' Dh. 94. Sometimes the subst. is omitted, and *dasasahassī* is treated like a fem. noun, as *dasasahassī pakampati*, 'ten thousand worlds quake,' comp. Senart, *Mahāvastu* 373.

The Ordinals.

The Ordinals for five, and from seven upwards, are formed by adding the suffix *ma* to the cardinal, as *pañcama*, 'the fifth,' *sattama*, 'the seventh;' the fem. terminates in *ī*, the neuter in *aṃ*, and they are declined like the corresponding substantives.

The Ordinal forms of the first numerals are: one, *paṭhama*; two, *dutiya*; three, *tatiya*; four, *catuttha*; six, *chaṭṭha*; *saṭṭha* (only known from Kacc. 200) and *chaṭṭhama*, Jât. i. 22, Bv. ii. 142.

From twenty upwards we have two forms, one by adding *ma* to the cardinal in *ti*, as *visatima*, 'the twentieth;' and one by dropping the termination *ti*, as *visa*, *tiṃsa*, &c.

From *satam*, *sahasam*, we have the ordinals *satama*, *sahasama*.

Besides, we have fem. ordinals in *ī* to designate the day of the month; as *pañcamī*, 'the fifth day;' *ekādasi*, 'the eleventh day,' &c.

§ 18. Conjugation.

The division of the Pāli Verb, as established by the native grammarians, is on the whole the same as that of the Skt. They admit of seven classes, of which the first again is divided into four conjugations; these correspond to the classes i., vi., ii., iii. of the Samskr̥it grammarians, and the other six classes to the remaining Samskr̥it classes in the following order, vii., iv., v., ix., viii., x. Thus we obtain the following divisions of the Pāli Verb:—

First class:—(a) Verbs terminating in *ĩ*, *ũ* or a consonant, which take *guṇa* and the vowel *a*: ✓ *bhũ*, *bhavāmi*, ‘to be.’

(b) Verbs ending in consonants which take the vowel *a*, but no *guṇa*: ✓ *tud*, *tudāmi*, ‘to pierce.’

(c) Verbs ending in vowels which take *guṇa*, but add the personal endings without an intervening vowel: ✓ *i*, *emi* ‘to go.’

(d) Verbs forming their bases by reduplication: ✓ *hũ* *juhomi*, ‘to sacrifice.’

The third division (c) is given in the Dhātumañjūsā as *huvādayo*, where *hũ* is another form of the root *bhũ*, ‘to be,’ forming its present *homi*.

Second class:—Verbs taking the *a*-vowel and inserting a nasal before the final consonant of the root: ✓ *rudh*, *rundhāmi*, ‘to restrain.’

Third class:—Verbs adding the suffix *ya*, *yā* to the root: ✓ *div*, *dibbāmi*, ‘to play.’

Fourth class:—Verbs adding the suffixes *nā*, *ṇu* (which becomes *no* by *guṇa*) or *unā* to the root: ✓ *ṣru*, *suṇāmi* or *suṇomi*, ‘to hear;’ ✓ *āp*, *pāpunāmi*, ‘to attain.’

Fifth class:—Verbs ending in a vowel, which add the suffix *nā* to the root: ✓ *krĩ*, *kināmi*, ‘to buy.’

Sixth class:—Verbs ending in a consonant, which add *u* (or *o* by *guṇa*) to the root: ✓ *tan, tanomi*, 'to stretch.'

Seventh class:—Verbs adding the suffix *aya* (or *e* by contraction) to the root: ✓ *cur, corayāmi* or *coremi*, 'to steal.'

Verbs have two voices, the *Parassapada* or Transitive, and the *Attanopada* or Intransitive; the use of the latter is much more restricted than in Samskrit, most of the *Attanopada* verbs having adopted the *Parassapada* terminations.

We distinguish in Pāli, as in Samskrit, special and general tenses. It must, however, be observed that the special and general bases very often take the place of one another, as will be shown hereafter.

Special tenses:—

- (1) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, Optative and Imperative.
- (2) Imperfect.

General tenses:—

- (1) Perfect.
- (2) Aorist.
- (3) Future.
- (4) Conditional.

Terminations of the Present Indicative.

Parassapada.		Attanopada.	
Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
<i>mi</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>mhe (mahe, mha)</i>
<i>si</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>vhe</i>
<i>ti</i>	<i>nti</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>nte, re</i>

These terminations are very similar to the corresponding ones in Samskrit. In the first pers. pl. of the *Attan.* we some-

times find the fuller form in *mahe*, as *bhasmābhavāmahe*, Mah. 6; the termination *mha* shortened from *mhe* occurs in *dadamha*, Dh. 188, *maññamha*, Dh. 205 (the long *ā* is crasis for the *i* of the following *iti*, see above, p. 60). Instead of *ante* in the third pers. pl. we frequently meet with the termination *are*, especially in old texts, metrical as well as prosaical, as *miyyare* = *mriyante*, 'they die,' Das. Jât. 34; *udicare* from *udîksh*, 'they looked,' M. I. 15, 6; *abhikîrare*, 'they overwhelm,' Jât. iii. 57. This *are* is most probably the vedic termination *re* of the third pers. pl. âtmanep. as in *çriṇvire*; it also exists in Prâk. Hem. iii. 142.

We have to consider first the verbs that add the terminations immediately to the root (which form the second class in Samskr̥it, in Pâli division (c) of the first class). The paradigm adopted by the native grammarians is *hû* = *bhû*, 'to be.' It forms its present as follows:—

<i>homi</i>	<i>homa</i>
<i>hosi</i>	<i>hotha</i>
<i>hoti</i>	<i>honti</i>

Other roots belonging to this class are those terminating in *ā*, like *yā*, 'to go,' *vā*, 'to blow,' which have entirely the same inflexion as in Skt., only that they shorten the *ā* in the third pers. pl., *yanti*=Skt. *yânti*. Besides, the root *yā* may follow the third class, as in *yāyanti*, M. v. 9, 4. *Thā*=sthā, 'to stand,' forms its present *thāti* and *tiṭṭhati*, e.g., *thāta*, Dh. 123, *saṁthāti*, Dh. 429; from *āā* we have a present, *dāti*, Kacc. 264, imper. first pers. pl. *ṇipadāmase*, Jât. iii. 120 (explained by the commentary *nikārapakārā upasaggā dāmase ti attho*). *Pajjhāti*, Jât. iii. 534, is most probably derived from *jhā* = kshā, 'to decay,' comp. *pajjhāyi*, *pajjhāyasi*, Suttavibh. i. 19, ii. 5.

From *dhyā* we have *pajjhāyanto*, 'groaning,' Mil. 5, if Trenckner's translation is correct, and according to Senart, Mahāvastu 377, also the present *āvajjati* and *āvajjeti*, 'to consider,' which would have dropped the aspiration. From *snā*, 'to bathe,' we have an imper. *nahāhi* belonging to this class, Jât. ii. 325. From *thāti* and *dhāti* = *dadhāti* we come to the forms *thahati* and *dahati* which are in very frequent use in Pāli.

Of verbs terminating in *i* we have to mention here besides *i* and *çī*, which belong to this class also in Skt., *nī*, 'to lead,' *çri*, 'to lean,' *ji*, 'to conquer,' *ḍi* and *ḷi*, 'to fly.' *I* seems to form its present very much as in Skt., for the first and second pers. pl. of course we get *ema*, *etha*, instead of *imas*, *ita*; for the third pl. Childers adduces a form *samudayanti* from Brahmajālas. Atth. which is formed from *samudenti* by false analogy. In the present *vyapanenti* quoted by Minayeff, p. xxxii. from Udānagāthā and in *vassūpanāyika*, M. iii. 2, 2, we have derivations from *i* with the prepositions *apan* and *upan* respectively, which make them look as though they were derived from *nī*, comp. Vinaya Texts, i. xxxvii. A present *ayati* belonging to the *bhū*-class is given in Dh. m., but has not yet been found in any text.

Çi forms its present *semi*, Cariy. ii. 2, 3, third pl. *sentī*, Dh. 28; in the part. we have *semāna*, Jât. i. 180, Mah. 49; *sayamāna*, Att. 218.

Nī forms *neti* and *nayati* according to Kacc. 261; part. *upanento*, Dh. 154; gerund *apanetvā* instead of *°nītvā* by false analogy.

Çri forms a present *apasseti*, C. vi. 20, 2, comp. *apassena* for *apaçrayana*.

Ji has the present *jayati*, *jeti* and *jināti*, Kacc. 261; opt. *jeyya* for *jayeyya*, Dh. v. 103.

Ḍi (and ḷi) forms its present *ḍeti*, Gr. 136. The compounds of this root, *oḍḍeti* and *uḍḍeti*, the explanation of which causes considerable difficulty. *Oḍḍeti* occurs in the Jāt. i. 274, ii. 153, 183, 238, Suttavibh. i. 22 (v. l. *oṭṭi*, Buddh. *oṭṭi mukham thapesi*), *uḍḍeti*, 'to cast a net,' Ang. i. 24, in a note to this last passage, identifies the two forms. It is no doubt right, but I believe *uḍḍeti* to be the original and *oḍḍeti* a later change. Instead of *omāna*, Jāt. i. 274, we ought to read *ḍemāna*. A causative of the stem *uṭṭepeti*, 'to frighten away,' M. i. 51, comp. *uḍḍāpiti* 91, and perhaps *niddāyati*, Jāt. i. 215, *niddāpeti*, but these two might also belong to *dā*, *dyati*. I have *uḍḍihyaṃ*, Pāiyal. 182.

The root *brū*, which is generally given as paradigmatic in the class in Skt., shows the following conjugation in Pāli.

Parassapada.

Attanopada.

<i>brūmi</i>	<i>brūma</i>	<i>brave</i>
<i>brūsi</i>	<i>brūtha</i>	<i>brūse</i>
<i>brūti, bravīti</i>	<i>bravanti</i>	<i>brūte</i>

The root *han* has *hanti* in the third pers. sing., Mil. 220, *hananti* in the third pl., Dh. 64, for Skt.

Vac forms *vatti* and *vacati*, according to Saddanīti. The forms have not yet been found in any text.

The root *as*, 'to be,' has the following inflexion:-

<i>asmi, amhi</i>	<i>asma, amha</i>
<i>asi</i>	<i>attha</i>
<i>atthi</i>	<i>santi</i>

At Jāt. iii. 309 we have a curious first pers. pl., *am*, which looks like an imperf. *attanop.* but is used like a pres.

The synonymous root *acchati* is now proved beyond doubt to belong to *âs*, from which it proceeds through the aorist *acchi*, see Trenckner, Pâli Misc. 61, Pischel, Gött. Anz. 1865, p. 627, Torp 88. We find the compound *samacchati*, in the original signification, 'to sit down,' Jât. ii. 67. The aorist *acchi* occurs Dh. 158, Suttavibh. i. 35.

The present *pâheti*, 'to send,' also belongs to this class, although it is given by the grammarians among the *svâdayo* and *tanâdayo*. The *â* in the first syllable shows that it is only deduced by false analogy from the aorist *pâhesi* = Skt. *prâ-haishît*, but it is considered as a genuine present in Pâli.

As a paradigm of division (d) of the first class, I give here the conjugation of the root *hu*, 'to sacrifice.'

<i>juhomi.</i>	<i>juhoma.</i>
<i>juhosi.</i>	<i>juhotha.</i>
<i>juhoti, juvhati.</i>	<i>juhonti, juvhanti.</i>

Besides, there seems to be a new root, *juh* taken from the special base, and inflected with the vowel *a*, as in *juhamâna*, Jât. ii. 399; and from this is also derived the subst. *juhana*, 'sacrifice,' Jât. i. 493, wrongly spelt *jûhana*, Gr. 16.

Other roots belonging to this class are those ending in *â*, some of which I have already mentioned; *hâ* forms the present *jahâti*, but we find also *vijahati*, Dh. 99, 261, from a new root, *jah*.

Dâ and *dhâ* can also have the regular forms *dadâti* and *dadhâti*, besides the new ones mentioned above, and from *dadâmi* is also derived the contracted form *dammi* = *dadmi*, pl. *damma*, Dh. 123, 129; Jât. i. 127, etc. Besides we have a present *âemi*, which shows exactly the same inflexion as *emi*, 'I go;' Childers derives it either from the Skt. *dayate*, or by

false analogy from the imper. *dehi detu*, but I confess that none of these explanations seems to me quite satisfactory.

From *dhâ* we have *nidheti*, Kh. 12 ; *nidhetum*, Khuddasikkhâ, xxxi. 2 ; and besides a distracted form *daheti* (analogous to *dahati* from *dhâti*) in the aorist *pidahesi*, Mah. 4, and the future *paridahessati*, Dh. v. 9. Pass. *antaradhâyati*.

From *sthâ* we have the imp. *uṭṭhehi*, Rev. v. 3 ; Dîp. 60 ; *niṭṭhâyati*, C. v. 26, generally *niṭṭhâti*. From *hnu*, Kacc. 135 gives the present *hanute*, but the Dh. omits this root altogether.

The division (a) of the first class has considerably encroached on most of the other classes. Nearly all the roots terminating in *u* or a consonant, and belonging to the second class of the Skt. have migrated into this class in Pâli: *lih* forms *lehati*, Jât. i. 19 ; *lehentâ*, Jât. ii. 31 ; Suttavibh. i. 46 ; *duh* : *dohati*, Kacc. 144 ; but *duhanti*, ib. 141 ; *rud* : *rodati* and *rudati*, Jât. iii. 214 ; *rodâmi*, Das. Jât. 33. *Vetti*, from *vid*, 'to know,' is entirely lost in Pâli, and generally replaced by *jânâti*. We find, however, a present *vindati* formed according to the 6th class of the Skt., and *vijjati* = *vidyate* ; besides *vedeti* and *vediyati*, Mil. 60 ; Suttavibh. ii. 167 ; Part. *vedayitu*, Mil. 60. From *jâgar*, 'to watch,' we have the present *jâgarati*, Dh. 8, 11, 41, and *jaggati*, Dh. 201 ; Jât. iii. 403 ; comp. the Prâk. forms *jâgarai* and *jaggai*, Hem. iv. 80 ; from *daridrâ*, 'to be poor,' the Dh. gives *daliddati* ; but this form has not yet been found in any text. In some cases the *e* is only due to false analogy, as in the fut. *gahessati*, and aorist *aggahehi*, from *grih*, see Childer's 'Corrigenda,' s. v.

Ḍaç, 'to bide,' forms *ḍasanto*, *ḍasitvâ* and *ḍamsento*, *ḍamsetvâ*, *ḍasâpetvâ*, *ḍamsâpetvâ*, Ten. Jât. 42, 43, 44, 54.

Dhmâ, 'to blow,' forms *dhamati* and *dhameti* ; besides we

have a reduplicated form *dhamādhamayati*, Mil. 117; *nid-dhamana*, 'a water-course,' is also derived from this root.

The root *vī* or *ve*, 'to weave,' is given in the Dh. among those that follow the first conjugation, and indeed we find an infinitive *vetum*, C. vi. 2, 6; a present *abbeti* occurs, Jât. iii. 34, where Fausböll has altered it into *appeti*, comp. Trenckner, P. M. 64. A new present *vināti*, formed according to the fifth class, occurs Jât. ii. 302; and besides we have the regular passive *vīyati* or *viyyati*, Pât. 11.

Vad, 'to speak,' supplying the lost special tenses of *vac* forms its present *vadati* and *vadeti*. The Dh. only gives a root *vad* with the signification 'to praise' following *corayāmi*. Besides, *vajj* may be substituted throughout all the tenses, according to Kacc. 254 (derived, no doubt, from the opt. *vajju*, Jât. ii. 322), e.g. *vajjāsi*, Jât. iii. 443, comp. *vivādyanti*, Mahāvastu, p. 378.

Tas = *tras*, 'to tremble,' forms its present regularly *tasati*, Dh. 24; we find, however, an aorist *vitthāsi*, Kam. 4, a present *vitthāyati*, M. i. 76, 3; C. x. 17, 3, and a participle *vitthata* Mil. 36; for *vitthata* comp. Prāk. *hittha*, Hem. ii. 136, P. Goldschmidt's remarks 'Setubandha,' ii. 42; *vitthāsi* reminds one of a form *trāhi*, Lalitavistara, p. 286, which I have corrected into *trāsi* (Der Dialekt der Gāthās des Lal. p. 284), and *vitthāyanti* seems to be formed after the false analogy of this aorist in the same way as *pāheti* from *pāhesi*.

Tud forms *vitūdati* with lengthening *nittūdana*, Mahāparin. 54, besides *vitudam* (?) Dh. 146; from *khan*, 'to dig,' we have an irregular inf. *nikhātum*, Cariy. iii. 6, 16.

Ruh forms *abhirohati*, *abhirūhati* with lengthening, and even *abhiruhati*.

Bhī, 'to fear,' forms *bhāyati*, comp. Hem. iv. 53. The redu-

plicated form *bibheti* is entirely lost in Pāli. The Imper. *bhātha*, Jāt. i. 26, is contracted from *bhāyatha*.

Soap, 'to sleep,' forms *supati*; Part. *sumanta*, Mil. 368.

Vyath, 'to tremble,' is also given under this class in Dhṃ., but I have only found it under the form *vedhati*. At C. vii. 4, 6, Oldenberg has suggested to read *vyathati* for the senseless *vyādhati*. The causative is *vedheti*, Trenckner, P. M. 76.

The second class of the Pāli, corresponding originally to the seventh of the Skt., forms its present after the fashion of those verbs of the sixth class which adopt *n*: so we obtain from *rudh* a present *rundhāmi*, just as we have from *vid*, *vindāmi*. Kacc. 238 gives besides the forms *rundhiti*, *rundhīti*, *rundheti*, of which the last occurs also in the imper. *rundhehi*, Cariy. iii. 10, 7 (where, however, the corresponding passage of the Jāt. i. 332, reads *randhehi*). About the passive *rumh*, see above, p. 39.

The other roots belonging to this class, as *muc*, 'to release,' *chid*, 'to cut,' *lip*, 'to smear,' *bhuj*, 'to eat,' are regular.

The third class comprises the verbs that take the suffix *ya* (with assimilation of *y* to the consonant terminating the root). Some of the verbs belonging to this class are real passives, as *vijjati*, 'to be found, to exist,' pass. of *vidati*; *udriyati*, 'to go to ruin,' from *dar*, *ḍṛiṇāti*, M. iii. 8, 1; Suttavibh. ii. 254. Others have adopted the meaning of actives, as *bujjhati* from *budh*, 'to know, to understand,' *sibbati* from *śiv*, 'to sew,' *dajjati* is most probably not the Skt. *dadyate* only given by grammarians, but a derivation from the opt. *dajjā*, just as *vajjati* from *vajjā* (see above, p. 102).

Mar forms the present *marati* and *mīyati* or *miyyati*. At Saddhammop. vs. 139, we find *marīyati*, which certainly is not classical.

Jar, 'to decay,' forms *jīyati* or *jīyyati* and *jīrati*; besides we have *jūraṣi* in a passage quoted by Childers, J. R. A. S. xi. 113, from an unknown author. Comp. *Prāk. jūraī*, Hem. iv. 132.

Çar, 'to throw down,' forms *seyyasi* = *çīryasi*, Jât. i. 174. Part. *visiṇṇa* = *viçīṇṇa*.

Lū, 'to reap,' forms *lāyati*, Das. 31, Jât. i. 215; *lāyeti*, Suttavibh. i. 64; *lāveti*, with change of *y* to *v*, Kacc. 262; *lāpayati*, Mah. 61, and the regular *lunāti*, Kacc. 238.

Gā, 'to sing,' forms *gāyati*, Dh. 85; imper. *gāhi*, Jât. iii. 507.

The fourth class corresponds to the fifth of the Skt.; but most of the verbs belonging to it can also form their present according to the ninth, by adding the suffix *nā* to the root. From *çru*, 'to hear,' we have the present *suṇoti* and *suṇāti*, imper. *suṇohi* and *suṇāhi*, inf. *sunitum*, Mil. 91. From *ci*, 'to collect,' we have *cināti*, Dh. 209; *vinicchinati*, Dh. 377; *ocināyatu*, Cariy. iii. 6, 7; *saṃcinoti*, Att. 200; part. *saṃcayanto*, according to the first class, Mah. 127. Roots ending in a consonant can assimilate the *n* to this consonant, or insert *u* before the Suff. *nu* or *nā*, e.g. *pappoti*, *pāpuṇoti* and *pāpuṇāti*, from $\sqrt{\text{âp}}$, 'to attain,' *sakkoti* and *sakkunāti* (where the second *k* is due to the false analogy of *sakkoti*), from $\sqrt{\text{çak}}$, 'to be able;' *sakkāti* occurs Saddhammop. v. 385, and a shortened form *sakkati* is induced by Childers from Nāvâ S. and Saddanīti.

Gar, 'to sound,' forms *anugīṇāti* = *anugrīṇāti*, 'he answers,' Kacc. 139. Besides we have *uggirati*, 'to rattle,' Jât. i. 150; Pât. 18.

Abhisambhuṇoti, 'to obtain,' Lotus, 313, Pât. vii., is referred by Childers to the root *bhṛi* of the Dhātupāṭha, and this explanation is adopted with some hesitation by Senart Mahāvastu 406. The Dh. gives an especial root *sambhu*.

Sumbhoti, Kacc. 238, is perhaps identical with Skt. *ṣubh*, *ṣubhnâti*, 'to kill,' comp. Mahâvastu, 381. The Dh. gives a root *sumbh*, 'to beat,' following the first class, and Jât. iii. 185, we have *sumhâmi*, v. 1. *sumbhâmi* explained by *paharâmi*.

From var, 'to cover,' we have several forms according to this class; Trenckner, P. M. 63, gives the following: *vaṇimhase*, Jât. ii. 137; *apâpuṇanti*, It. 84, v. 2; *vaṇomi*, Jât. 513, v. 14; *āvunitvâ*, 'having pierced,' Cariy. iii. 12, 2; *samvunoti* and *samvunâti*, Kacc. 238. But it can also follow the first class as *vivarati* (*vivunâti* seems not to exist), *samvarati*, Mil. 152; *pâpurati* and *pârupati*, 'to dress,' *avapurati*, F. J. 29; *avâpuriyati*, Jât. i. 63 (comp. *avâpurana*, 'a key,' Ab. 222).

The fifth class corresponds to the ninth of the Skt., but includes also some verbs belonging originally to other classes. The Pâli grammarians reckon among this class several verbs which originally belong to the fifth class of the Skt., like *cinâti*, 'to collect,' *dhunâti*, 'to shake,' Skt. *cinoti*, *dhunoti*. About *jinâti* see above, p. 98. From *pû*, 'to purify,' we have *opunâti*, Dh. v. 252; Jât. i. 467; Mahâparin. 49. From *kinâti*, 'to buy,' we have an irregular inf. *ketum*, Jât. iii. 282.

Mush, 'to steal,' forms its present *musati*, Ras. 32; *pamusati* derives most probably not from *mush* but from *smṛish*, see above, p. 58.

Aç, 'to eat,' forms *asnâti*, Mettânisaṃsâ, vs. 8; imper. *asnâtha*, Mahâparin. 59.

Mâ, 'to measure,' forms *minâti*, caus. *minâpeti*, Jât. ii. 378; *niminhase*, Jât. ii. 369, Dh. 417.

Badh forms *bandhati* instead of *badhnâti* with a metathesis similar to that of *rundhati* = *runaddhi*; *lag*, 'to stick,' forms *laggati* = *lagnâti*, besides *lagati* after the first. From *ma'h*, 'to grind,' we have *abhimatthati* = *abhimatnâti*.

Jñā forms *jānāti* regularly ; from *grīh* we have *gaṇhāti* and *gaṇhati*, Dh. 160.

Other verbs following this class are *mun* = man, 'to think,' in *munāti*, comp. Hem. iv. 7 ; Fausb. S. N. 169 ; and *thun* = stan, 'to thunder' in *thunanti* (meaning 'to proclaim,' which points really to a confusion of the roots stan and stu, as one would think from Dh. Rev. 3 ; *anutthunāti*, Dh. 28, 323. From the same root we have *thanayam*, Mahāsamayās. vs. 23 ; *thanita*, Att. 210 ; Jât. i. 64 ; *nitthananta*, Jât. ii. 362 ; *nitthanamāna*, Jât. i. 463.

The sixth class corresponds to the eighth of the Skt. In Pāli, however, in this case the root *kar*, 'to do,' can form its present quite regularly in the following way :

<i>karomi.</i>	<i>karoma.</i>
<i>karosi.</i>	<i>karotha.</i>
<i>karoti.</i>	<i>karonti.</i>

Besides, we have a form *kummi* for the first pers. sing., Jât. ii. 435, to which we may compare *kurumi*, Lalitavistara, 270. In the attanopada we have *kurute*, Dh. 9, 39, Mah. 219 ; and, besides, *kubbate*, *kubbati*, Kacc. 261 ; *vikubbati*, Jât. iii. 114 ; *tan* has *tanomi* regularly.

The Dh. reckons several more roots to this class, of which some have been dealt with before, and others do not occur in any text, so that we need not mention them here.

The seventh class comprises the denominative verbs, the causatives, and a few primitive verbs, which have migrated into it from other classes. The inflexion of these is the same as of the verbs terminating in *i* or *ī* which belong to the first class, as *ji*, *ḥi*, *nī*, etc. ; *aya* can always be contracted into *e*, and also *ayi* of the past and future undergoes very often the

same change. Even verbs in *āyati* can be contracted, as *paleti* for *palāyati*, Dh. v. 49.

Among this class I also reckon verbs like *āgilāyati*, 'to be weary, to pain,' C. vii. 4, 2, which is given by the Dh. as belonging to the third. A doubtful word is *saṃkāyati*, C. x. 18, with the v. l. *sahāyati*.

Primitive verbs that occasionally take the suffix of this class are *vac* in *vacehi*, Dh. 159, *vad* in *vademi*, *vadehi*, Ras. 21, *dajj* in *dajjehi*, M. vi. 23, 3; Suttavibh. i. 217, *tud* in *ritudetī*, Suttavibh. i. 105. About *vediyati* and *vedayita* see above, p. 101.

Imperative.

Parassapada.		Attanopada.	
<i>mi</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>mase</i>
<i>hi</i> or °	<i>tha</i>	<i>ssu</i>	<i>vho</i>
<i>tu</i>	<i>nti</i>	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>ntaṃ</i>

Mi is most probably transferred from the present by false analogy. In the second person the short form without suffix is not so frequent as in Skt. We find *hi* also in such cases where we are not accustomed to see it in Skt., as in *gaṇhāhi* for *gaṇha*=*grihṇa*. From *gacch* we have *gacchahi*, Kacc. 248, besides *gacchāhi*. *Paṭimāse*, Dh. v. 379, is contracted from *paṭimāsayā*. The termination *tha* of the second pers. pl. is evidently taken from the present, e.g., *etha*, *passatha*, Dh. v. 171, *brūtha*, Jât. iii. 520. From *aç*, 'to eat,' we have *asnātha* Mahâparin. 59.

The termination *ssu* of the second pers. sing. attanop., derived from Skt. *sva*, is very frequent even in verbs which follow the parassapada inflexion, e.g., *bhavassu*, Dh. v. 371, *pilandhassu*, Mil. 337, *āsassu*, 'relate,' Gr. 118 for *āsasassu*, comp. Kacc. 288; third pers. *labhatam*, Mahâpar. 62. The

termination *mase* of the first pers. pl. is either very old or very modern (comp. for the first eventuality Kuhn, p. 101, for the second, Torp, p. 47); besides we have one instance of a form terminating in *maham*, *gacchāmaham*, Dh. 86. For the curious form in *vho* of the second pers. pl. (we would expect *vham* = Skt. *dhvam*) I can only adduce one example, *nivattavho*, Jât. ii. 358.

The form of the root is the same in the imperative as in the indicative. Thus we have from *çru*, second pers. sing., *suñhi*, Att. 134; from *kar*, second pers. sing., *karohi*, Dh. 42; besides *kuru*, Mah. 18, 61, second pl. *karotha*, first pers. pl. *attan. karomase*, Jât. ii. 258. From *dâ* we have the Skt. form *dehi*, besides *dadâhi*, Jât. iii. 109; *dajja* and even *dajjehi*, M. vi. 23, 3.

From *as* a second pers. sing. *âhi* is given by Childers and Minayeff, but has not yet been found in any text. The form is always expressed by *bhava*, *bhavassu*, or *hohi*, Dh. 187.

About the existence of the attanop. forms of *kar* and *dâ* given by Minayeff, § 178, 179, I feel very doubtful.

Subjunctive.

The subjunctive in Pâli has been discovered by Pischel, K.Z. xxiii. 424, who adduces a few examples from Dh. and Jât. It differs from the indicative only by the lengthening of the vowel *a*. Farther instances are *paṭibhaṇāti*, Jât. iii. 404, *ha-nâsi*, Jât. iii. 199, and perhaps *dahâsi*, *dahâti*, Fausb. S. N. 161, 169.

Optative.

Parassapada.		Attanopada.	
<i>eyyâmi</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>eyya</i>	<i>eyyâma</i> , <i>ema</i>	<i>eyyam</i>	<i>eyyâmhe</i>
<i>eyyâsi</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>eyya</i>	<i>eyyâtha</i> , <i>etha</i>	<i>etho</i>	<i>eyyavho</i>
<i>eyya</i> , <i>e</i>	<i>eyyum</i>	<i>etha</i>	<i>eram</i>

This form of the optative originated from contraction of the optative suffix *īya* with the *a* of the first class, but it is in use with the other classes as well. When stems end in a vowel, this vowel is dropped before the *e* of the termination, as, e.g., *dadeyya*, and even *deyya*, from *dadāti*.

Roots terminating in *ā*, and following division (c) of the first class form their optative by inserting *y*, as *yāyeyya*, from *yā*, Pât. 110, *nhāyeyya* from *nahā*=*snā*, *nibbāyeyya* from *nirvā*, 'to be extinguished'; from the last we have besides an abbreviated form *parinibbaye*, Das. 6.

The forms of the sing. in *e* are frequent enough in older texts, as *ānaye* (first pers.), Jât. i. 308; *labhe*, Cariyâp. i. 1, 9; *rode*, Jât. iii. 165; *nivase* (first and second pers.), Jât. iii. 259, 262; *pāpune* (third pers.), C. vii. 4, 8; *dade*, Cariy. i. 3, 8. In Khuddasikkhā we find even a third sing. *de*.

The termination *eyya* of the first pers. originated from *eyyam* after the nasal had been dropped; it is a form of the parassap. identical with the Skt. *eyam*, as we can see from instances like *deseyyam*, Dh. 119, *puccheyyam*, Pât. 1, etc.

The first sing. in *eyyāmi*, as far as I know, is only given by grammarians as *heyyāmi*, *bhaveyyāmi*, *huveyyāmi*, from Rūpa-siddhi, at Alwis Introd. 48, in the second we have *e* and *eyyāsi*, as *sikkheyyāsi*, Jât. i. 162, *āhareyyāsi*, Dh. 248, once *eyya* in *yājeyya*, Jât. iii. 515; in the third *e* and *eyya*. One instance of the fuller form *eyyāti* occurs: *jāneyyāti*, C. vii. 3, 4. In the first pers. pl. we have *emasi*, *emu*, and *ema*, as *vidhamemasi*, Jât. iii. 261, *passemu*, Jât. iii. 495, *jānemu*, Kasibhāradvājas. vs. 1, Dh. 96, and *dakkhema*, Mahāsamayas. vs. 25; generally *eyyāma*.

In the second pl. we have only one instance of the shorter form *samāsetha* in the phrase *sabbhir eva samāsetha*; besides

we have *eyyātha* in *āgameyyātha*, Cariy. i. 8, 5, *saṃvatteyyātha*, Dh. 129, *paṇeyyātha*, Dh. 215. In the third pl. we have always *eyyūṃ*=Skt. *eyus*.

The second sing. attanop. in *etho*, and the third in *etha*, are formed after the old fashion=Skt. *ethās*, *eta*; the third is very frequent also in such verbs which otherwise follow the parassap. inflexion, as *rakkhetha*, Dh. v. 36, *abhittharetha*, v. 116, and in passives, as *jāyetha*, Dh. v. 58, from ✓*jan*. Besides, we have *āgaccheyyātho*, *manasikareyyātho* given by Alwis, Cat. 184, from Moggallāna's grammar. The first and second pers. pl. do not occur in any text, but the third is frequent, as *bhaveram*, *gaccheram*, &c.

Shortened forms of the regular opt. occur of some roots in *ā*, as *sthā* and *dhā*: *adhiṭṭheyya* for *adhiṭṭhāyeyya*, Khudd. 16, *apanidheyya*, Pât. 16, and so we ought to read *parinibbeyam* instead of *parinibbāyi*, Dîp. i. 24. From roots ending in *i* we have *niccheyya*, Dh. v. 256, for *nicchayeyya*, from *nis*+*ci*, *anabhineyya*, Pât. 4, *vineyya*, Khudd. 31, from *nî*; *jeyya* from *ji*, Dh. v. 103; from *i* we have *abbheyya*, Pât. 6, second *eyyāsi*, Jât. iii. 535. From *hū*=*bhū*: *huveyya* and *hupeyya* according to the Burmese writing, M. i. 6, 9; Trenckner, Pâli Misc. 62; besides, we have a contracted form *heyya*, only known from Rûpasiddhi ap. Alwis Introd. 48, but not yet found in any text.

The optatives of the seventh class can be shortened in two different ways; from *corayeyya* we get *coraye* on one side and *coreyya* on the other; from *bhāvayāmi* we have a contracted third sing. attanop. *bhāvetha*, Dh. v. 87 for *bhāvayetha*.

Besides this regular form of the optative, which corresponds to the optative of the Skt. first principal conjugation (comprising the first, fourth, sixth, and tenth classes), we have a few rests of the optative of the second principal conjugation.

Some of the roots ending in *ā* can form, besides the regular optatives of the type *dadeyya* and *deyya* given above, the old *dajjā*=Skt. *dadyât*, Dh. v. 224; first pers. *dajjam*, Mah. 63, *dajjāham*, M. iii. 8, 1, and *dajjāmi*, Mah. 8. From this optative *dajjā* was formed the verbal base *dajjati* (see above, p. 103) and this can again take the terminations of the optative, as in *dajjeyya*, Kacc. 256, *anuppadajjeyya*, Pât. 11; first pl. *anuppadajjeyyāma*, Pât. 11.

From *jñā* we have *jāniyā*, corresponding to Skt. *jāniyât* with shortening of the *i*, and contracted from this *janñā*; besides a form after the analogy of the verbs with vowel *a*, as *jāneyya*.

From *as*, 'to be,' we have an old optative which preserves throughout the *a* of the root dropped in Skt. :—

*assam**assāma**assa**assatha**assa, siyā**assu, siyum*

The first pers. *assam* occurs Dh. 186, the second *assa*, Jât. iii. 515, in the third both forms are equally frequent; *assāma* is found in Saccavibhanga, *assu*, Dh. v. 74, Jât. ii. 425.

From *vad*, 'to speak,' we have a second sing. *vajjāsi*, Jât. ii. 443; third pl. *vajju*, Jât. ii. 322, explained by the regular forms *vadeyyāsi* and *vadeyyum*. By false analogy of this optative we have a present *vajjāmi* (just like *dajjāmi*, from *dajjam*), *vajjemi* and a secondary optative *vajjeyya* given by Kacc. vi. 4, 19.

Kar forms its opt. in the parassap. third pers. sing. *kare* and *kareyya*, Dh. v. 43, Kacc. 263, pl. *kareyyātha*, Dh. 147, *kareyyum*, Dh. 187; attanop. *kubbetha*, C. vii. 4, 8. Besides, we have an old opt. *kayirā* or *kayira* from *karyât* instead of *kuryât*, attan. *kayirātha* or *kayiratha*.

Āp forms the old opt. *pappuyya* = *prāpnuyât*, Das. 37, C. vi. 4, 4.

Imperfect and Aorist.

First formation.

Parassapada.		Attanopada.	
<i>am a</i>	<i>amha</i>	...	<i>amhase</i>
<i>a o</i>	<i>attha, ū</i>	<i>ase</i>	<i>avham</i>
<i>ā a</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>attha</i>	<i>atthum</i>

Second formation.

Parassapada.		Attanopada.	
<i>im</i>	<i>imha</i>	...	<i>imhe</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>ittha</i>	<i>ise, ittho</i>	<i>ivham</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>imsu, isum</i>	<i>ittha</i>	

The first form belongs to the imperfect and simple or strong aorist, which cannot be distinguished in Pāli, the second to the weak aorist, which is formed by adding the root *as*, 'to be,' as in Greek.

A third formation is only distinguished from the second by the plus of an *s*, so that we have *sim* instead of *im*, &c. It is used mostly in verbs ending in vowels, and in causatives.

Examples of the first sing. in *am*:—*avacam*, Dh. 242, *addam* and *addasam*, 'I saw,' Jât. iii. 380, Anecd. 35, once with the present termination *addasāmi*, Oldenberg, K. Z. xxv. 320, *addasa*, M. ix. 1, 5, where the reading of the MSS. ought not to be changed; from *dā* we have *adam*, Jât. iii. 411, Cariy. i. 9, 30; from *bhū* *ahum*, Jât. iii. 411; from *çru*, *assum*, Jât. iii. 542.

Second pers. in *o* = *as*: *pamādo*, Dh. v. 371; *āsado*, Jât. i. 414, iii. 207, C. vii. 3, 12; in *a*: *avaca*, Pât. 99; and from a reduplicated aorist identical in its formation to the Skt. *avocaṇ*: *avoca*, Dh. 185, *voca*, Dh. v. 133.

In the third pers. we have *ā* and *a* = at: *abhavā*, *ahuvā*, Buddha 443, *addasa*, *udacchidā*, Anecd. 77, and with a curious doubling of the *d*, unexplained as yet, *acchidda*, Dh. v. 351; *amarā*, Jât. iii. 389 (v. l. *amarī*), 'he died.' *Ajjhagamā*, Ras. 78, *papato*, C. v. 20, 5, is the only instance known of *o* in the third.

In the first pers. pl. we have *amha* or *mha* in *adamha*, Jât. ii. 71; *assumha*, Jât. ii. 400; *vuṭṭhamha*, Dīp. 79; *ahumha*, Dh. 105; besides a form corresponding to the Skt. *addasāma*, Dh. 96.

Second pers.: *ahuvattha*, Dh. 105; *avacuttha*, Pât. 5; *datta*, Jât. ii. 181.

In the third pers. we have *ū*, *u* and *um*, all representing the Skt. *us*. Examples in *um* are very numerous; *ū* we have in *ajjhagū* from *adhigacchati*, Jât. i. 256, *anvagū*, Das. 36; and *u* in *āgu*, *passim* in Mahâsamayasutta. The following instances deserve notice because they form their aorist in Skt. with *s*: *aggahum*, Mah. 253, *upatthahum*, Mah. 132, 256, *randhayum*, Dh. v. 248, *abhikkāhum*, Mahâsamayasutta vi. 4; *adakkhum*, ib. vs. 3 corresponds to *adrākshus*.

The second and third sing. of the *attan.* in *ase*, *attha*, are influenced by the corresponding forms of the *s* aorist in *ise* *ittha* (see later on). Examples are *suyattha*, Dh. 86, *adattha*, Jât. ii. 166. Besides, we have the regular form in *tha*=Skt. *ta* for inst. *avocatha*, Mah. 132, *adassatha*, Mah. 199, *khīyatha* Cariy. iii. 10, 1, passive *ajāyatha*, Mah. 24.

Mhase is also influenced by the *s* aorist, and besides it is a present termination; instances are *ahuvamhase*, *akaramhase*, F. Jât. 13, 38; *vaṇimhase*, Jât. ii. 137; *nimimhase*, Dh. 417; Jât. ii. 369; the form of the imperfect *mhasa* occurs in *akaramhasa*, Dh. 147. The second pl. in *vham* corresponds to the Skt. *dhvam*, the third in *atthum* is formed by false analogy

from the sing. *attha*. Of these I have not found any instance in texts.

Brû forms *abravi* and *abruvi*, pl. *abravum* and *abruvum*.

From *gâ* we have a second pers. sing. *âgâ*, Fausb. S. N. 161, corresponding to Skt. *agâs*, a third *accagâ*, *upaccagâ* and *ajjhagâ*, Dh., corresponding to *agât*. From *sthâ* a third person *atthâ*, Mah. 78.

From *kar* we have the regular forms, and besides an abridged aorist *akâ*, Mah. 23, 37, corresponding to the vedic *akar*. Other forms of the same root will be given later on.

Labh forms an aorist *alattham*, Jât. i. 141; second pers. *alattha* or *lattha*, Dh. 240; third *alattha* = *alabdha* (*attan*). The first and second pers. are formed after the analogy of the third.

The first sing. of the second formation is contracted from the Skt. *isham*, as in vedic *îm*; examples are *abhânim*, Jât. iii. 394, from *bhan*, 'to speak,' *adassim*, Cariy. i. 2, from *darç*, 'to see,' *udâtariṃ* from *tar*, Jât. ii. 317; *upâgemiṃ*, Jât. iii. 373; *ovâdim*, Bv. xxvi. 4; we also have a form in *i* without the nasal *aggahi*, Jât. iii. 373; *upâgami*, Cariy. i. 195; *nimmini*, Cariy. ii. 6, 11; passive *ajâyi*, Cariy. iii. 5, 1. Sometimes we find *issam* with a double instead of a single *s*, as in *sandhavisam*, Dh. v. 153 (comp. Childers' Notes on Dhamm. 4, Trenckner, P. M. 56); *nandissam*, Jât. 432, vs. 9, and most probably *titikkhissam*, Dh. v. 320; some forms with a single *s* are given by Oldenberg, K. Z. xxv. 320; with change of *i* to *a* (Trenckner, p. 75), we have *icchassam*, S. N. vii. 14, vs. 1, 6; *pamâdassam*, M. N. 130; Ang. iii. 4, 6.

In the second pers. we have *i* or *î* in poetry when a long syllable is required, as in *âdiyi*, Suttavibh. i. 44; *kandî*, *gilî*,

Dh. v. 371; *agamī*, Mah. 6. In the third person we have the same termination in *āviñji*, Suttavibh. i. 127; *vedī*, Dh. v. 423; *abhinimmi* from *abhinimmāti*, Dh. 315; *akari* from *kar*, F. Jât. 13; or a new form in *isi*, as *agacchisi*, Mah. 206; *antaradhāyisi*, Mah. 112; *ajāyisi*, Mah. 18, 20.

In the first pers. pl. we have *imka* = *ishma*, as in *sarimha*, Dh. 188; *labhima*, Dh. 236; *apāyimha*, Jât. i. 360; in the second *ittha* = *ishṭa*, as in *saddhayittha*, Dh. 123; *dadittha*, Dh. 238; and in the third *imsu* or *isum* = *ishus*.

In the attanopada the second pers. *ise* as given by the grammarians, is not found in any text (just like *ase* of the first formation); we find instead *ittho* = *ishṭhās* in *atimaññittho*, Ten. Jât. 40; *asajjittho*, Jât. i. 297; *akkamittho*, Bv. ii. 53 (always spelt with the dental group).

In the third pers. we have *ittha* = *ishṭa*, as in *pasārayittha*, Jât. i. 135; *āsankittha*, Jât. i. 151, and several passive forms given by Kacc. 289—293; comp. similar forms in the Mahāvastu, Senart's ed. p. 378.

In the first pers. pl. we have *imhe*; second, *ivham*; but these forms have not yet been found in any text. The third pl. terminates in *imsu*, *isum*, or in *um*, as *upagacchum*, Mahāparin. 21 (see above, p. 113).

The first sing. of the third formation terminates in the *sim*, as *aññāsim*, Pât. 95; *cintesi*, Dh. 206; or *si*, as *cintesi*, Cariy. i. 8, 1; *adāsi*, Cariy. i. 9, 47; *paccaññāsi*, M. I. 6, 27, 28, where the reading of the MSS. should be followed.

Second pers. *si*, as *akāsi*, Suttavibh. i. 44, with assimilation *paṭivekkhi*, M. vi. 23, 8, and third the same as *adhosi*, Fausb. S. N. 150; *nimāsi*, Mah. 27; *avatthāsi*, Suttavibh. i. 79, from *avattharati*, *padhūpāsi*, M. I. 15, 4, Suttavibh. ii. 109, 132. *Udānesi*, Jât. i. 141; with assimilation *sakki*, Jât. iii. 424;

akkocchi, Dh. v. 4; *accheccchi*, Buddha, 441 (spelt wrongly *acchejji*, ib. 434); from *kar*, *akāsi* = *akārshīt*; from *har*, *viḥāsi*.

First pl. *simha* = *sishma* in *addsimha*, Jāt. iii. 120; second *sittha* = *sishṭa*.

The third pl. in *simsu* is not found, but is replaced by a form in *sum* or *ṃsu*, corresponding to Skt. *sus*, as in *adamsu*, *pāhesum*, *ārocesum*; from *sthā* we have *aṭṭhamṣu*, Dh. 233, and *uṭṭhimsu*, Mah. 166; from *jñā*, *aññimsu*, Jāt. iii. 303; from *khyā*, *akkhamṣu*, Jāt. iii. 481; from *vā*, *parinibbimsu*, Dīp. 51; from *dhā*, *samādahamṣu*, Mahāsamayasutta vs. 2; from *kar*, *akamsu*.

After the false analogy of the aorists in *āsi* we find also some aorists of verbs ending in a consonant, as *agamāsi*, pl. *agamamṣu* (not *agamamsum*, which is a mistake of the Burmese MSS.); *addasāsum*, Jāt. ii. 256, and *adassamṣu*, Papañca Sūdanī, ap. Alwis Introd. 73. Even the perfect *āha*, 'he spoke,' follows this inflexion, as we have *āhamṣu*, Jāt. i. 121, comp. *āhamṣus* of the Mahāvastu ap. Minayeff, Pât. xliii. Another *āhamṣu* is found in *payiruddhamṣu*, 'they uttered,' from *√har*, comp. Weber, Hāla, 184; Ind. Streifen iii. 396.

The imperfect of the root *as*, 'to be,' is entirely formed after the analogy of these aorists:

<i>āsim āsi.</i>	<i>āsimha.</i>
<i>āsi.</i>	<i>āsittha.</i>
<i>āsi.</i>	<i>āsimṣu.</i>

The first pers. *āsi* occurs Cariy. i. 4, 1. For the third we find a form *ehi*, Bv. xvi. 7, which looks like an abbreviation of the fut. of *i*, *ehiti*, but perhaps the reading is incorrect.

Perfect.

Parassapada.		Attanopada.	
<i>a.</i>	<i>mha.</i>	<i>i.</i>	<i>mhe.</i>
<i>e.</i>	<i>ttha.</i>	<i>ttho.</i>	<i>vho.</i>
<i>a.</i>	<i>u.</i>	<i>ttha.</i>	<i>re.</i>

Verbs ending in consonants insert *i* between the root and the consonantal terminations. Examples are not very frequent : *hā*, 'to leave,' forms *jahāra*, with a euphonic *r*, Kacc. 243 ; *chid*, *ciccheda*, ib. 242 ; *budh*, *bubodha*, Att. 203 ; *suc*, *susoca*, Att. 212 ; *ah*, *āha*, third pl. *āhu* ; *vid*, *vidu*, Mah. 141.

Future.

Parassapada.		Attanopada.	
<i>ssāmi.</i>	<i>ssāma.</i>	<i>ssam.</i>	<i>ssamhe.</i>
<i>ssasi.</i>	<i>ssatha.</i>	<i>ssase.</i>	<i>ssathe.</i>
<i>ssati.</i>	<i>ssanti.</i>	<i>ssate.</i>	<i>ssante (ssare).</i>

The termination *am* of the first sing. attan. is only an abbreviation of *āmi* in parassap. and occurs frequently in old texts as *dassam*, *bhokkham*, Das. 7, 29 ; *hessam*, *pūrayissam*, Ten Jât. 91. This form is identical with the first sing. aorist according to the second formation in *issam*, as *sandhāvissam*, and this is the reason why they have often been mistaken one for the other.

The future may be formed from the root or from the special base. If it is formed from the root the terminations may be added directly, or by the auxiliary vowel *i*.

(a) Futures formed from the root directly : *pacessati*, Dh. 9 ; *vicessati*, Kacc. 27, both from *ci* ; *vijessati*, from *ji*, Dh. 9 ; *dakkhati*=*drākshyati*, √*darç*, *sakkkhiti* from *çak* ; *lacchati* from *labh* Dh. 96=*latsyati* for *lapsyati* (comp. the aorist *alattha* for

alabdhā), *sambhossāma* from *bhū*, Mah. 28 ; *vacchāmi* from *vac* Khuddasikkhā 17 ; *pavekkhati* from *viç*, Mah. 153 ; *checcham* from *chid*, Jât. iii. 500 (*samucchissatha*, Gr. 254, is formed after the false analogy of the other futures in *issati*) ; from *i* we have *esam*, Jât. iii. 535, and *upessam*, Dhaniya S. Childers, s. v. *upeti* ; from *han*, first pers. pl., *hañchema*, Jât. ii. 418, with an *e*, instead of *ā*, that I cannot explain. Trenckner takes this and *dak-khema*, Mahâsamay, v. 25, as optatives of the fut., but this is without any analogy. *Āhañchi*, M. i. 6, 8, Trenckner, P. M. 74 ; *bhejjati*, Ang. i. 5, 7, is most probably a mistake for *bhecchati* (like *acchejji* for *acchecchi*, above, p. 116).

The future is sometimes used in the sense of an imperfect, as *dassāmi*, Cariy. i. 3, 4 ; *pariyesissāmi*, Cariy. i. 6, 5 ; *pavissāmi* for *pavisissāmi*, from *viç*, Cariy. i. 9, 56 (*pavissāmi* as future occurs Jât. ii. 68). Perhaps these are only aorists with primary terminations like *addasāmi* (above, p. 112).

(b) Futures formed from the root by the auxiliary vowel *i* : *āgamissam*, Jât. ii. 284 (and *āgamicchati*, Dh. ix. 12, formed after the false analogy of *dicchati*, if it is not merely a blunder) ; *niggahissati*, Dh. 96 ; *samvasissare*, in a passage of the Apadâna, quoted in Oldenberg's Buddha, 419 ; *labhissati*, Dh. 121 ; *nahāyissati* from *snā* ; *parinibbāyissati*, Dh. 333, from *parinirvā* and *parinibbissam*, Bv. xxvi. 23, with loss of the root-vowel.

(c) Futures formed from the special base, mostly by the auxiliary vowel *i* : *jinissati* from *ji*, and *cinissati* from *ci*, Dh. 209 ; *āgacchissati*, Dh. 84 ; *passissati*, Dh. 88, 89 ; *pajahissati* Dh. 311 ; *pahinissati*, Dh. 84 ; *pāpunissati*, Dh. 101 ; *sunissāmi* from *çru*, Jât. i. 129 ; *paridadhassati*, Dh. 115.

With *e* in *paridahessati*, Dh. v. 9 ; *niggahessāmi*, Dh. v. 326 (see above, p. 101).

In the 2nd pers. sing., 3rd pers. sing. and pl. we find some-

times *i*, instead of *a*, most probably from the *y* assimilated in the consonantal group, as *sakkhiti* for *sakkhati*, Sadda Niti *sakkhinti*, Dhaniya S.; *dakkhisi*, F. J. 23; *dakkhinti*, Mah. 83; M. i. 7, 10.

In some futures the sibilant has migrated into *h*, as *kāhāmi* for *karshyāmi*, from *kar*, Cariy. i. 5, 9, Jât. i. 214; *kāhati*, Jât. ii. 443 (besides *kassāma*, Mah. 12; *kassam* in a modern text, I. O. C. 121); comp. *kābīti* of the Mahāvastu Minayeff, 109; *vihāhisi* from *vihar*, Dh. 68 (besides *vihassati*, Arunavatisutta, v. 2); *hāhasi*, from *hā*, Jât. iii. 172; *paññāyihinti*, Jât. xvi. 1, 5, from *prajñā*, *ehiti* from *i*. From *hū*=*bhū* we have *kohiti*=*bhoshyati* and *hehiti*=*bhavishyati* which may be further contracted into *heti*.

A peculiarity of the Pāli is the double future formed from bases like *dakkh* by the ordinary termination *issati*. The base *dakkh* came to be used exactly like a present base as we see from the imperf. *dakkim*, Jât. i. 25 (which cannot be identified directly with the Skt. aorist *adrāksham*); from the present *dakkhati*, frequent in later texts, from the inf. *dakkhitum*, M. v. 1, 2; *dakkhitāye* (not *dakkhitāya*), Mahāsamayas, vs. 1, and from the causative *dakkhāpita*, Mil. 119. So we get a secondary future *dakkhissati*, *sakkhissati*, Dh. 84; *sukkhissati*, from *çush*, 'to dry,' Dh. 234; *pavakkhissam* from *vac*, Cariy. i. 1, 2, *hehissati*, Kacc. 249.

A curious form is *dicchati*, Jât. 450, vs. 7 (*dicchati*, 'to see,' Alwis, Introd. 42, evidently derives from *ḍṛiç*). Trenckner, P. M. 61, following Vanaratana derives it from *adikshat*, but the comm. explains it by *dadanti*. I think it is the desiderative of *dā* used as a new root with the meaning of the primitive verb, and this would speak in favour of Weber's explanation of *dakkhati* and *dekkhati* as desideratives (see Kuhn's Beitr. vii.

485 ff., Indische Streifen xiv. 69 ff.). Childers and Pischel (Beitr. vii. 450 ff.) explain them as futures, P. and S. Goldschmidt derive them from the part. *dr̥iṣṭa* with a change of sounds similar to that in *dukkha*=*duḥstha* (see above, p. 39). The secondary base *sukkh* from *ṣush* (see the Causatives) speaks in favour of Goldschmidt's theory. As for *paveccati*, Jât. i. 28, Ml. 375, I am unable to decide whether it is really the future of *viṣ* or, as Trenckner suggests, identical with *payacchati*.

Conditional.

Parassapada.

<i>ssam</i> ,	<i>ssamhā</i> .
<i>sse, ssa, ssasi</i> ,	<i>ssatha</i> .
<i>ssā, ssa, ssati</i> ,	<i>ssamsu</i> .

Attanopada.

<i>ssam</i> ,	<i>ssamhase</i>
<i>ssase</i> ,	<i>ssavhe</i> .
<i>ssatha</i> ,	<i>ssimsu</i> .

With regard to the base the same rules apply to the conditional as to the future. Instances are, 1st pers. *apapessam*, Jât. ii. 11 (v. l. *pāpeyyum*); 2nd pers., *bhavissa* ib., *agghāpe-ssasi*, Jât. ii. 31, v. l., for *agghāpeyyāsi*; 3rd pers., *agamissā*, Kacc. 263; *alabhissa*, *asakkhissa*, Dh. 292; *paññāpessa*, and *abhavissati* in a passage of Samyuttaka Nikāya Buddha, 443, where Oldenberg wants to change it into *abhavissa*. For the pl. I can adduce no instances from texts.

Passive.

The passive is formed by adding the syllable *ya*, already mentioned as characteristic of the third class. This syllable may be added to the root or to the present base, as *gacchīyati*, Kacc. 236; and *gamīyati*, Dīp. 70, from *gam*, 'to go'; *vussati* and *vasīyati* from *vas*, 'to dwell'; *hāyati*, Dh. v. 364, and *hīyati*, Kacc. 257, from *hā*, 'to forsake'; *gayhati* and *gheppati* from

grah, 'to take;' *tāyati* from *tan*, 'to stretch,' Jât. iii. 283; Rûp. 37. About *vuḍḍhate* from *vah*, Kacc. 237 (see above, p. 51).

The rules about the assimilation of *y*, which is optional, are given above, p. 48 ff.

The terminations of the passive are those of the *attanopada* and *parassapada* without any fixed rule.

An anomalous form of the passive is *sussute*, from *çru*, 'to hear,' Indische Streifen, iii. 398.

Causative.

Just as *ya* is the characteristic of the passive, *aya* is the characteristic of the causative (being the seventh class). The root is generally strengthened before this termination, as *lāveti* from *lā*, 'to reap,' *nāyeti* from *nī*, 'to lead,' *gūhayati* from *guh*, 'to hide,' but we have also exceptions to this rule, as *cudita* instead of *codita*, M. iv. 16; *bhaṇeti* = *bhāṇayati*, *gameti* = *gāmayati*.

The second form of the causative with *p* is much more frequent in Pâli than in Skt. It may be formed almost from every root. Thus we have *jīrāpeti* from *jar*, Jât. i. 238; *bhimsāpeti* (v. l. *hiṃsāpeti*), from *bhī*, Pât. 15; *pimsāpeti* from *pish*, Mah. 175, besides *pimseti*, Jât. ii. 363; *jināpeti* from *ji* (present base *jin*), Kaccâyanabhedaṭṭikâ, I. O. C., 91; *sukkhāpeti*, Dh. 188, from *çush* (secondary base *sukkh*, derived from the Part. *çushka*, in *sukkhamaṇa*, Jat. i. 304); *upalāpeti* from *upalā*, M. v. 2, 21; Jât. ii. 266, comp. Rhys David's Buddhist Suttas, p. 5; *sunāpeti*, Dh. 166, from *çru* (present base *sun*); *ceṭāpeti* from *ci* (through confusion with *cit*); *chejjāpeti* from *chid*, Mil. 90; *ānāpeti* from *ānī*. On the difference in the signification of the two forms of the causative comp. Oldenberg KZ. xlv. 323.

A causative with double *p* is *viññāpāpeti*, from *vijñā*, 'to cause to be asked for,' Pât. 105.

Pivati forms its caus. *pāyati* and *pāyeti*, *gah* : *gāheti* and *gāhāpeti* ; *han* : *haneti* and *ghāteti* ; *sampiyāyamāna*, Jat. i. 297, 361, ought to be corrected into *sampiyamāna*, according to Senart Mahāvastu, 556.

Desiderative.

The desiderative is formed from the reduplicated root, by adding an *s* : *jighacchati* from *ghas*, 'to eat,' sometimes written *jigacchati* (Grünwedel das sechste Kapitel d. Rûpasiddhi, p. 70) ; *jigucchati* from *gup* ; *titikkhati* from *tij* ; *cikicchati* and *tikicchati* from *kit* ; *pipāsati* and *pivāsati* from *pā* ; *bubhukkhati* from *bhuj* ; *sussusati* from *çru* ; *dicchati* from *dā* (see above) ; *jigimsati* from *har*. *Han* has a desiderative without reduplication, *pahamsati*, Jat. ii. 104 ; Pass. *pahamsiyati*, Mil. 326 ; *vimamsati* from *man*, is only a phonetical change for *mimamsati*.

Intensive.

Intensives are also formed from the reduplicated root, and sometimes take *ya*, as *daddallati* = *jājvalyate* ; *lālapatti* from *lap* ; *kākacchati* from *kath*, Jât. i. 61, 160, 318, Mil. 85 ; without *ya*, but with a nasal in the reduplication syllable, we have *caṅkamati* from *kram* ; *jaṅgamati* from *gam*, *caṅcalati* from *cal*.

Sākacchati, 'to talk,' Pât. xv. seems to be formed after the false analogy of *kākacchati* without reduplication.

Denominative.

Denominatives may be formed with and without reduplication. The terminations are the following :

- (1) *Āyati* in *pabbatāyati*, *samuddāyati*, *cicciṭṭāyati* and *ciṭṭiṭṭā-*

yati, 'to splash,' M. vi. 27, 7, Mil. 258; *dolāyati*, Jat. ii. 385; *tintindāyati*, Jat. i. 243, 244; *gaggardāyati*, Mil. 3; *verāyati*, Dīp. 83; *gaḷagaḷāyati*, Mahāparin, 48; *pariyāyati*, Samanta Pāsād. 332; *pattiyāyati*, 'to believe,' Jât. i. 426, where Fausb. wrongly has adopted the reading *saddhim yāyasi*, comp. Trenckner, P. M. 79; *harāyati*, M. i. 63, 1; Suttavibh. i. 68.

(2) *Iyati*, *īyati* in the examples given by Kacc. 233, which I have not found in any text, and besides in *paṭiseniyati*, Fausb. S. N. 64; *gaṇiyati*, Mil. 114; *aṭṭiyati*, 'to be hurt,' M. i. 63, 1.

(3) *Ayati*, *eti*, in the examples given by Kacc. 235, which are not found in any text, and besides in *bāheti* from *bahis*, 'to remove,' Senart Mahāvastu, 431; *yanteti*, Jât. i. 418; *vijaṭeti* and *vijaṭāpeti*, 'to disentangle;' *samodhāneti*, 'to join,' part. *samodhānita*, Jât. iii. 272; *theneti*, 'to steal,' Dh. 114, Jat. iii. 18.

For *sammanneti*, Ras. 69, we ought most probably to read *sammanteti* (Dh. 333), which is a denominative from *mantra*.

(4) *ati* in *pariyosānati*, 'to cease,' Dh. 331; *sārajjati*, 'to be ashamed,' Pât. xlv.; *osaṇhati*, 'to smooth,' C. v. 2, 3.

§ 19. Participles.

The present participle terminates in *ant* or *anta*, which is added to the present stem, e. g., *labham* or *labhanto*. About the declension of these participles and some other peculiarities, comp. p. 80. The same termination *ant* or *anta* is also used for the participle of the future, which, however, does not occur very frequently, e. g., *karissam*, Dâṭh. iii. 80.

In the attanopada we have the terminations *māna* and *āna* used almost without any difference from verbs of all classes,

the latter being more or less restricted to the ancient language. From *kar* we have the regular form *kubbāna*=*kurvāṇa*, Dh. v. 217, but also *karāṇa* in *purekkharāṇa*, Fausb. S. N. 173; *kurumāna*, Sam. Pās., 323, and *karamāna*; from *ċi*, 'to lie down,' we have *sayamāna*, Kh. 16; from *ṣush*, 'to dry,' *sukkhamaṇa*, Jât. i. 304; from *vas*, 'to dwell,' *vussamāna*, Mah. 121; from *as*, 'to be,' *samāna*, Kacc. 258. A contraction takes place in *sampajāno* for *sampajānāno* from *jñā*, 'to know,' Dh. v. 293.

The old perfect participle in *vams* has almost totally disappeared; a few remaining traces have been given above, p. 80.

The past participle passive is formed by adding the terminations *ta* and *na* as in Saṃskṛit. These may be added to the root or to the present stem with or without the vowel *i*. From *vas* we have, according to Kacc. 291, *vusita* and *vuṭṭha*, e. g., *upavuṭṭha*, Cariy. ii. 3, 2; *parivuṭṭha*, Pât. 6; *pavuṭṭha*, Mil. 205; *vusitam brahmacariyam*, 'the religious duties have been fulfilled,' a locution very frequent in canonical texts, e. g., M. v. 1, 18; besides *vasita*, Mah. 123, where we ought to read *pabbajjāvasitaṭṭhāne* and *adhivattha*, Dh. 165, 341, 392 (*adhivattha*, Mahāparin. 23). From *jhash*, 'to hurt,' we have *jhatta*, Mah. 146, Dh. 325, where the correct reading is *chātakajjhattā*. From *pat*, 'to fall,' we have *patita* but also *patta* in *pattakkhandha*, 'crestfallen,' Mil. 5, Ass. S. 17. From *icchati*, 'to wish,' we have *iṭṭha* (or *yīṭṭha* after a word ending with a vowel) and *icchita*, which is wrongly given as a separate article by Childers. *Dhā* forms the regular participle *hita*; *dhāta*, Mil. 238, Gr. 301, M. vi. 25, 1, S. ii. 51, is most probably from *dhrā* (see M. 384). Somewhat irregular is *khata* for *khāta* from *hhan*, 'to dig,' Kacc. 296, and the participles with *n*, where the Skt. drops it as *bandha*=*baddha*, Kacc. 130; *pilandha*, Mil. 337,

from *pi+nah*; *randha*=*raddha*, Mil. 107; *parikanta*=*parikṛitta*, Suttavibh. i. 89 (but *parikatta*, Mil. 188).

Participles in *na* are somewhat more frequent in Pāli than in Skt. and in a few instances we find both forms from the same root, e. g., from *dā* we generally have *dinna*, but also *datta* in *atta*=*ādatta*, Fausb. S. N. 150, 153, Dh. v. 406; from *rud*, 'to weep,' we have *rodita*, Ab. 165 and *runna* or *ronna*, Kh. 12, Das. 36, Jāt. iii. 166, which is not an equivalent of *rudana* as Childers thought. From *lī* we have *sallīna*, 'depressed,' but also *sallita*, Cariy. iii. 11, 10. Jyā forms *jīna*, Suttavibhanga, i. 220, comp. Pāṇ. viii. 2, 44, schol.; *çā*, *sīna* in *saṃsīnapatta*, S. N. 7. At v. 30 of the same Khaggavisāṇasutta we have *saṃchinna*, for which Senart Mahāvastu, 629, 630, gives the better reading *saṃchanna* from *chard*.

From this past participle passive is formed a secondary derivative by adding the suffixes *vat* or *vin* (the latter with lengthening of the *a*). This derivative has succeeded in its use to the lost past participle active in *vams*. Examples are *vusitavanto*, Mil. 104; *hutavā*, *hutāvī*, *bhuttavā*, *bhuttāvī*, Kacc. 281.

The participle of necessity is formed by adding the terminations *tabba*, *tayya*=*tavya*, *anīya*, *ya*. These terminations can be joined with or without the vowel *i*. Examples with *tabba* are frequent enough: *jinitabba*, Dh. 101; *metabba*, Kamm. 8; *parijānitabba*, Dh. 151; *pativijjhitabba*, Dh. 259; *pariyāpunitabba*, Alw. N. 23; *tutthabba*, Jāt. i. 476—*tayya* is, as far as I know, only given by grammarians. *Anīya* we have in *karanīya*; *ya* in *sakkuneyya*, Mah. 141, and in *asamhīra* for *asamharya*, Dīp. 31.

Infinitive.

The infinitive generally terminates in *tum*, as *gantum*, 'to go ;' *sunitum*, 'to hear,' from the present stem, Mil. 91 ; *saṭṭhum*, Ten Jât. 104 ; *thutum*, from *stu*, 'to praise,' S. N. 38 ; *putṭhum* = *prashṭum*, 'to ask,' Parâbhavasutta, v. 1 ; *parimetum* from *mā*, Mil. 192 ; *jinitum* from *ji*, Kacc. 319 ; *nikhâtum*, from *khan*, Cariy. iii. 6, 16 ; from *budh* we have *patisambuddhum* and *suboddhum*, Kacc. 8. Besides we have also the ancient vedic terminations *tave*, *tuye*, and *tâye*, e. g., *pahâtave*, Dh. v. 34 ; *niketave*, Jât. iii. 274 ; *nidhetave*, Jât. iii. 17 ; *netave*, Dh. v. 180 ; with *tuye*, *gaṇetuye*, Bv. iv. 28 ; *marituye*, Therīgâthâ, 165 ; with *tâye*, *ḍakkhitâye*, Mahâsamayasutta v. 1 ; *jagghitâye*, Jât. iii. 226.

A curious form of the infinitive is *etase* from *i*, Therīgâthâ, 151.

Gerund.

The gerund is formed by adding the suffixes *tvā* (*tvāna* and *tūna*) and *ya*. In Dhp. the use of *ya* is restricted to compound verbs as in Skt., but later on it is also used for the single verb. Before these terminations the root generally appears in the same shape as in the infinitive. Examples are very frequent : *tvā* in *netvā* = *nītvā* (inf. *netum*) ; *chetvā* = *chittvā* (inf. *chettum*) ; *bhutvā* = *bhuktvā*, Jât. iii. 53 ; *gantvā* = *gatvā* (inf. *gantum*) ; *jetvā* = *jītvā* (inf. *jetum*). From *dr̥iç* we have the anomalous gerund *disvā*, where the *t* is entirely lost ; *dassitvā*, Suttavi-bhanga, ii. 64, should be changed into *passitvā*. From *hā*, 'to forsake,' we have the reduplicated form *jahetvā*, Dīp. 56, and *jahitvā*, Dhp. 85, 333 ; from *sthā*, *uttiṭṭhitvā*, Dh. 335 ; *upatiṭ-*

thitvā, Mil. 231. A contracted form is *anuvicca*=*anuvīditvā* (comm. *jānitvā*), Jât. i. 459, Ang. ii. 2, 7, Fausb. S. N. xi.

Tvāna in *passitvāna*, Mah. 165; *jahitvāna*, Dh. 215; *suñitvāna*, Das. Jât. 33; *jinitvāna*, Dh. 286; *chetvāna*, Dîp. 96; *vatvāna*, Dh. 193; *daditvāna*, Cariy. i. 9, 26; *pavakkhitvāna*, Mahāsamayasutta, 3. From the Skt. we can compare *pītvānam*, Pâṇ. vii. 1, 48.

Tūna in *kātūna* or *kattūna*, Kacc. 310; Suttavibhanga, i. 96; *āpucchitūna*, Therīgāthā, 165; *chaddūna*, ib. 169; *nikkhamitūna*, Theragāthā, 11; *soṭūnam*, at the beginning of the Mahāvagga of the Dīghanikāya I. O. C. 69.

Ya in *dhacca*=*âhritya* (Skt. *âhārya*), in *dhaccapāda*, 'a sort of bed,' frequent in the Vinaya; *dhacca*=*âhatya* from *han*, Mah. 45, Kacc. 302; *upahacca*=*upahatya*, ib., *uhacca*, Mahāsamayasutta, v. 3; *abbuyha* from *â + bñih*, Dh. 255; *nikacca*=*nikṛitya*, Suttavibhanga, i. 90; and most probably also *paṭigacca*=*pratikṛitya*, with softening of the *k*, comp. Trenckner, Mil. 421; *paticca*=*pratītya*, but *adhicca* I prefer to derive with Childers from *adhritya*, answering to Skt. *adhārya*. *Cicca*, Khuddasikkhā and *sañcicca*, Pât. 3, 66, Suttavibhanga, i. 73, most probably stand for *cintya*=*cintayitvā* (comm. *jānanto*). From *i* we have *anvāya*, frequent in Dh. formed after the false analogy of *māya* from *mī*; from *grah*, *samuggahāya*, 'having embraced,' Fausb. S. N. 152.

Sometimes the termination *ya* of the gerund is dropped and the root alone remains, e. g., *abhiññā* for *abhiññāya*, 'having known'; *paṭisankhā* for *paṭisankhāya*, 'having reflected,' *anupāda* for *anupādaya*, Dîp. 15.

In a few cases we find a gerund with double suffix combined from *ya* and *tvā*, e. g., *abhiruyhitvā* for *abhiruyha*, Kacc. 129;

ogayhitvā for *ogayha*, Mah. 261; *sajjhitvā* from *sad*, Bālāvatāra, s. 58.

The suffix *tum* of the inf. can be used also for the gerund, but this use seems to be limited to a few verbs. In the Pāṇi-mokkha we have a gerund, *abhihaṭṭhum* from *har*, which agrees exactly with the corresponding Jaina forms *puraūkāum* and *gantum* (see my Beitrage zur Gramm. d. Jaina Prākṛit, p. 61). From Rhys David's and Oldenberg's note, Vinaya Texts, ii. 400, it appears as if they wanted to identify this form with those in *tvāna* and *tāna* like *nikkhamitāna*; we learn, however, from Hem. ii. 146, that in *abhihaṭṭhum* and the corresponding Prākṛit forms, the suffix of the inf. is used instead of the gerund. A similar form, distinguished only by the loss of the anusvāra is *daṭṭhu*=*drashtum*, 'having seen,' parallel with *disvā*, S. N. 73, Theragāthā, 48. The corresponding Prāk. form is given as *daṭṭhum* by Hem. i. l.; but we have also in Jaina Prāk. forms without anusvāra, as *kaṭṭu* and *baṭṭu* from *kar* and *har*.

As an exercise for the student, I give the text of a Jātaka, with a literal translation, and complete analysis of the words:—

VALĀHASSAJĀTAKA.

(Fausböll's edition, vol. ii., p. 127, ff.)

*Atīte Tambapaṇṇidīpe Sirīsavatthun nāma yakkhanagaram
ahosi. Tattha yakkhiniyo vasimsu. Tā bhinnanāvānaṃ āga-
takāle alamkatapaṭṭiyattā khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ gāhāpetvā
dāsigaṇaparivutā dārake amkenādāya vāṇiye upasamkamanti.
Tesam manussavāsam āgat' amhā 'ti sañjānanattham tattha
tattha kasigorakkhādāni karonte manusse gogaṇe sunakhe ti*

evam ādini dassenti vāṇijānaṃ santikaṃ gantvā “imam yāgum pivatha bhattaṃ bhuñjatha khādaniyaṃ khādathā” ti vadanti. Vāṇijā ajānantā tāhi dinnam paribhuñjanti. Atha tesam khādītva bhuñjitvā vissamitakāle paṭisanthāraṃ karonti. “Tumhe katthavāsikā kuto āgatā kahaṃ gacchissatha kena kammaena idhāgat’ atthā ’ti pucchanti “bhinnanāvā hutvā idhāgat’ amhā” ti vutte ca “sādhu ayyā amhākaṃ pi sāmikānaṃ nāvaṃ abhirūhitvā gatānaṃ tīni samvaccharāṇi atikkantāni te matā bhavissanti, tumhe pi vāṇijā yeva mayaṃ tumhākaṃ pādapaṇḍarīkā bhavissāmā” ti vatvā vatvā te vāṇije itthikuttabhāvavilāsehi palobhetvā yakkhanagaraṃ netvā sace paṭhamagahitā manussā atthi te devasaṃkhalikāya bandhitvā kāraṇaghare pakkhipanti. Attano vasanatthāne bhinnanāvamanusse alabhantiyo pana parato Kalyāṇiṃ orata Nāgadīpaṃ ti evaṃ samuddatīraṃ anuvicaranti, ayaṃ tāsam dhammatā. Ath’ ekadivasam pañcasatā bhinnanāvā vāṇijā tāsam nagarasamāpe uttarimsu. Tā tesam santikaṃ gantvā palobhetvā yakkhanaguraṃ ānetvā paṭhamagahitamanusse devasaṃkhalikāya bandhitvā kāraṇaghare pakkhipitvā jeṭṭhakayakkhinī jeṭṭhakavāṇijaṃ sesā sese ti tā pañcasatā yakkhiniyo te pañcasate vāṇije attano sāmike akamsu. Atha sā jeṭṭhayakkhinī rattibhāge vāṇije niddaṃ gate utthāya gantvā kāraṇaghare manusse māretvā mamsam khādītva āgacchati. Sesāpi tath’ eva karonti. Jeṭṭhayakkhiniyā manussamamsam khādītva āgatakāle sarīraṃ sītalaṃ hoti. Jeṭṭhavāṇijo parigaṇhanto tassā yakkhinibhāvaṃ ñatvā “imā pañcasatāpi yakkhiniyo bhavissanti, amhehi palāyitum vaṭṭatīti” punadivase pāto va mukhadhovanatthāya gantvā sesavāṇijānaṃ ārocesi : imā yakkhiniyo na mānusiyo, aññesaṃ bhinnanāvānaṃ āgatakāle te sāmike katvā amhe. khādissanti, etha amhe palāyāmā” ti tesu adḍhatteyyasatā “mayaṃ etā vijahitum na sakkhissāma, tumhe gacchatha, mayaṃ na palāyissāmā” ti

āhamsu. Jetṭhavāṇiyo attano vacanakare addhateyyasate gahetvā tāsam bhīto palāyi. Tasmim̐ pana kāle Bodhisatto valā hassayoniyam nibbatti, sabbaseto kākasāso muṇṇjakeso iddhimā vehāsamgamo ahoṣi. So Himavantato ākāse uppatitvā Tambapannidīpam gantvā tattha Tambapannisare pallale sayamjātasālim̐ khādītva gacchati, evam̐ gacchanto va “janapadam gantukāmā atthi janapadam gantukāmā atthīti” tikkhattum karuṇāya paribhāvitam̐ mānusiṇācam̐ bhāṣati. Te tassa vacanam̐ sutvā upasamkamitvā añjalim̐ paggayha “sāmi mayam̐ janapadam gamissāmā” ti āhamsu. “Tena hi mayham̐ piṭṭhim abhirūhathā” ti. Ath’ ekacce abhirūhimsu ekacce vāladhim̐ gaṇhimsu ekacce añjalim̐ paggaḥetvā atṭhamsu yeva. Bodhisatto antamaso añjalim̐ paggaḥetvā iṭṭhe sabbe pi te addhateyyasate vāṇiye attano ānubhāvena janapadam̐ netvā sakasakattṭhānesu patiṭṭhāpetvā attano vasaṇattṭhānam̐ agamāsi. Tāpi kho yakkhiniyo aññesam̐ āgatakāle te tattha ohīnake addhateyyasate manusse vadhitvā khādimsu.

Translation.

In former times there was in the island of Laukā a Yakkha city called Sirīsavatthu. Therein dwelt Yakkhinīs. These, whenever a shipwreck took place, in splendid clothing, taking soft and hard food, surrounded by female slaves, carrying children on their hips, went to meet the merchants. That they might think “We have come to an abode of men,” they would show here and there men ploughing and tending cattle and so forth, herds of cattle, dogs, etc., and approaching the merchants they would say, “Drink this rice gruel, partake of this rice, eat this food.” The merchants, unawares, enjoy what is given by them. Thus having eaten and enjoyed, while resting, they exchange friendly greetings. They ask: “Where do you

live? whence do you come? whither are you going? on what business have you come hither?" They answer: "We have come hither, having been shipwrecked." [Then the Yakkhinis say]: "Well, sirs, three years have passed since our husbands went on board ship and went away; they must be dead; you are also merchants, we will be your servants." Thus they enticed those merchants with female blandishments, and leading them to the Yakkha city, the first men being captured, having bound them as it were with supernatural chains, they hurry them into the abode of destruction. If they do not obtain shipwrecked men near their own place of abode, they wander along the sea-shore as far as Kalyâṇi on the other side, and Nāgādīpa on this side, and this is their custom. On a certain day, 500 merchants came to their city. The females approaching them, enticed them, and bringing them to the Yakkha city, binding the men whom they first captured as with supernatural chains, they hurried them into the abode of destruction. The first Yakkhinī took the chief merchant, the others the remainder, and so the 500 Yakkhinis made the 500 merchants their husbands. Then the chief Yakkhinī in the night time, when the merchants had gone to sleep, rising, goes to the abode of destruction, and, killing men, eats their flesh, and returns. The others do likewise. When the chief Yakkhinī returned, after having eaten the human flesh, her body was cold. The chief merchant, having embraced her, knew that she was a Yakkhinī, and thought: "These must be 500 Yakkhinis; we must escape." On the morrow, in the early morning, on going to wash his mouth, he told the other merchants: "These are Yakkhinis, not human beings; when other shipwrecked men come, they will make them their husbands, and devour us. Shall we not flee? But 250

said: "We are unable to leave them; you go; we shall not flee." The chief merchant, having persuaded the 250 by his advice, fled, terrified at the females. Now at that very time the Bodhisattva was born from the womb of a mare; he was pure white, black-headed, muñja-haired, possessed of supernatural power, being able to go through the air. Rising through the air from the Himavanta, he went to the isle of Tambapanni, and having eaten paddy, produced spontaneously in the lakes and ponds of Tambapanni, he went on, and thus proceeding, said compassionately three times in a well modulated human voice: "Does any person wish to go? Does any person wish to go? They, hearing the speech, came near with folded hands, and said: "Sir, we folk wish to go." "Then get upon my back," said he. Then some got on his back, some seized his tail, but some stood with folded hands. Bodhisatta, by his own supernatural power, conveying all the 250 merchants, even those standing with folded hands, placing each in his own place, returned to his own abode. But the Yakkhinis, when the time of the others had come, killed the remaining 250, and ate them.

This story is another version of the well-known myth of the Sirens, as was pointed out for the first time by Dr. Morris, in the "Academy" of Aug. 27, 1881 (reprinted in the "Indian Antiquary" for October, 1881, pp. 292-3).

Atīte, 'in former times,' loc. sing. of the past part. of *i*, 'to go,' with *ati*.

Tambapaṇṇidīpe, 'in the island of Ceylon,' = *Tāmaparaṇḍivīpe*, loc. sing., *tāmaparaṇi* literally means 'copper leaf,' most probably from the colour of the soil in the island. Ceylon was

called the 'Island of the Demons,' as can be seen from Senart "La Légende du Bouddha," p. 272, et seq. Allusion is made to this myth also in the Lalitavistara, p. 196, ed. Calc. :

Laghu gagane vrajase kṛipajāto rākhasadvīpaṃ

Vyasanaçata manuñān tada grhya kshame sthapesi.

Sirīsavatthun (v. l. °*vatthu*) nom. sing. of a neuter *u*-stem
About the locality of this fabulous town nothing is known to me,

Nāma, nom. sing. of a neuter *n*-stem.

Yakkhanagaram, nom. sing. of a neuter *a*-stem.

Ahosi, 3rd. pers. sing. Aorist of *bhū* or *hū*, 'to be.'

Tattha=*tatra*, 'there,' adverb of place.

Yakkhiniyo, nom. pl. of *yakkhini*, 'a female *yakkha*.'

Vasimsu, 3rd. pl., aorist of *vas*, 'to dwell.'

Tā, nom. pl. fem. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Bhinnanāvānaṃ, gen. pl. of a bahuvrīhi compound from *bhinna* and *nāvā*, 'ship.' *Bhinna* is the past part. pass. of *bhid*, 'to break,' and the whole compound means 'shipwrecked.'

Āgatakāle. *Āgata* is past part. pass. from *ā* + *gam*, 'to go,' and *kāle*, loc. of *kāla*, 'time.'

Alaṃkatapaṭiyattā, a compound of two past participles. *Alaṃkata*=Skt. *alaṃkṛita*, 'adorned, embellished,' from *alaṃ* + *kar*. *Paṭiyatta* from *prati*+*yat*, 'to prepare, to dress.' The whole compound stands in the nom. pl. f.

Khādaniyaṃ, acc. sing. n. of the part. of necessity of ✓*khād*, 'to eat.' It means literally, 'that can be chewed,' i.e., 'solid food.'

Bhojaniyaṃ, acc. sing. n. of the part. of necessity of ✓*bhuj*, 'to eat,' means, in opposition to *khādaniyaṃ*, 'soft, or wet food,' as boiled rice, etc.

Gāhāpetvā, gerund of the causative of $\sqrt{\text{gah}}$, 'to take,' lit. 'to cause to be taken.'

Dāsiganaparivutā, nom. pl. f., parallel to *alamkatapaṭṭiyattā*. *Dāsigaṇa*, 'a troop of female slaves,' *parivuta*, past part. pass. of *pari + var*, 'to surround.'

Dārake, acc. pl. of *dāraka*, 'child.'

Aṃkenāddāya. *Aṃkena*, instr. sing. of *aṃka*, 'hip,' *āddāya*, gerund of *ā + ddā*, 'to take.' The whole means 'having taken on the hip.'

Vānije, acc. pl. of *vānija*, 'merchant.'

Upasaṃkamanti, iii. pl. pres. of *upa + saṃ + kram*, 'to approach.'

Tesaṃ, gen. pl. m. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Manussavāsaṃ, acc. sing. of *manussa*, 'man,' and *vāsa*, 'dwelling.'

Āgat' stands in sandhi for *āgatā*, nom. pl. of the past part. of *ā + gam* (see above, *āgatakale*).

Amhā ti stands in sandhi for *amha iti*. *Amha* is 1st pers. pl. pres. of the verb subst. *as*. *Iti* is generally used after a quotation.

Sañjānanattham, composed from *sañjānana*, 'perceiving,' and the acc. of *attha*, 'purpose.' It means 'for the purpose of perceiving.'

Tattha, *tattha*, see above. The repetition is distributive, 'here and there.'

Kasigorakkhādīni, *kasi* = *krishi*, 'ploughing,' *gorakkhā*, 'cow-keeping'; *ādīni* is the neuter pl. of *ādi*, 'etc.' The whole compound is an acc. dependent from the following *karonte*.

Karonte, acc. pl. m. pres. part. of *kar*, 'to make.' This belongs to *manusse* and depends from *dassenti*.

Manusse, acc. pl. of *manussa*, 'man.'

Gogaṇe, acc. pl. 'herds of cattle.'

Sunakhe, acc. pl. of *sunakha*, 'dog.'

Ti=*iti*, see above.

Evam, particle, 'thus.'

Ādini, acc. pl. n. of *ādi*, 'etc.'

Dassenti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. caus. of *darç*, 'to see.'

Vāñjānam, gen. pl. of *vāñja*, 'merchant,' dependent from *santikam*.

Santikam, acc. of *sa* + *antika*, 'near.'

Imam, acc. sing. f. of the demonst. pronoun.

Yāguṃ, acc. sing. of *yāgu*=*yavāgu*, 'rice-gruel,' a fem. *u*-stem.

Pivatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *pībati*, 'to drink.'

Bhattam, acc. sing. of *bhatta*=*bhakta*, 'boiled rice.'

Bhuñjatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *bhunjati*, 'to eat.'

Khādaniyam, see above.

Khādatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *khādati*, 'to eat.' The long *ā* is the crasis, as in *amhā*, above.

Vāñjā, nom. pl. of *vāñja*.

Ajñāntā, nom. pl. of the pres. part. of *jñā*, 'to know,' with a privativum, 'not knowing.'

Tāhi, instr. pl. f. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Dinnam, acc. sing. past part. of *dā*, 'to give.' The substantive is understood.

Atha, particle, 'then.'

Khāditvā, gerund from *khād*.

Bhuñjitvā, gerund from *bhuj*.

Vissamitakāle, similar to *āgatakāle*, above. *Vissamita*, past part. from *vi* + *çram*, 'to rest.'

Paṭisanthāram, acc. sing. of a masc. *a*-stem.

Karonti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. of *kar*.

Tumhe, nom. pl. pers. pronoun, 2nd pers.

Katthavāsikā, nom. pl. of compound from *kattha*=*kutra*, 'where,' and *vāsika*, 'living.'

Kuto=*kutas*, 'whence.'

Āgatā, nom. pl. of *āgata*, see above.

Kaḥam, interrog. particle, 'where, whither.'

Gacchissatha, 2nd pers. pl. fut. of *gacch*, the present stem of *gam*, 'to go.'

Kena kammena, instr. sing. of the interrog. pronoun and *kamma*=*karman*, 'business.'

Idhāgat'=*idha* + *āgatā*.

Attha, 2nd pers. pl. pres. of *as*, 'to be.'

Pucchanti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. of *pucch*, 'to ask.'

Bhinnanāvā, nom. pl., see above.

Hutvā, gerund of *bhū* or *hū*, 'to be.'

Vutte, locative absolute of the past part. of *vac*, 'to speak.'

Ca, 'and,' copulative particle.

Sādhu, neuter adjective, 'well.'

Ayyā, voc. pl. of *ārya*, 'sir.'

Amhākaṃ, gen. pl. personal pronoun, 1st pers.

Pi=*api*, 'also.'

Sāmikānaṃ, gen. pl. of *sāmika*, 'husband.'

Nāvaṃ, acc. sing. of *nāvā*, 'ship.'

Abhirūhitvā, gerund of *abhiruh*, 'to mount.'

Gatānaṃ, gen. pl. of *gata*. This belongs to *sāmikānaṃ* and depends from *tīni samvaccharāṇi atikkantāni*.

Tīni, nom. pl. n. of the numeral stem *ti*, 'three.'

Samvaccharāṇi, nom. pl. of a neuter *a*-stem.

Atikkantāni, nom. pl. n. past part. of *ati*+*kram*, 'to go beyond, to pass.'

Te, nom. pl. m. demonstr. pronoun.

Matá, nom. pl. past part. of *mar*, 'to die.'

Bhavissanti, 3rd pers. pl. fut. of *bhú*, 'to be.'

Tumhe, see above.

Yeva in Sandhi for *eva*.

Ma₂am, nom. pl. pers. pronoun, 1st pers.

Tumhákam, gen. pl. pers. pronoun, 2nd pers., see above, *amhákam*.

Pádapari₂cáriká, nom. pl. f. from *páda*, 'foot,' and *pari₂cárika*, 'servant.'

Bhavissáma, 1st pers. pl. fut. of *bhú*.

Vatvá, gerund from *vac*, 'to say.'

Itthikuttabhá₂vavilá₂sehi, compound from *itthi* = *strí*, 'woman,' *kutta* of unknown etymology, most probably synonymous with the following *vilá₂sa*, 'charm, beauty.' The whole stands in the instr. pl.

Palobhetvá, gerund of the caus. of *pra* + *lubh*, 'to seduce.'

Yakkhanagaram, the acc. to denote the direction, 'to the Yakkha city.'

Netvá, gerund of *ní*, 'to lead.'

Sace, conjunction, 'if.'

Pa₂ṭhamagahitá, from *pa₂ṭhama*, 'first,' and *gahita* = *grihí₂ta*, past part. of *grah*, 'to take.' The whole stands in the nom. pl.

Atthi, 3rd pers. sing., instead of the plural.

Devasam₂khalikáya, from *deva*, 'god,' and *sam₂khaliká* = *ṣri₂n₂khala*, 'a chain.' The whole is a tappurisa compound, and stands in the instr. case.

Bandhitvá, gerund from *bandh*, 'to bind.'

Kāra₂naghare, loc. of *kāra₂ṇa*, 'destruction,' and *ghara* = *griha*, 'house.'

Pakkhipanti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. of *pra* + *kship*, 'to throw.'

Attano, gen. sing. of *attā*=*âtman*, 'self.'

Vasanaṭṭhâna, loc. of *vasana*, 'dwelling,' and *sthâna*, 'place.'

Alabhantiyo, nom. pl. f. of the pres. part. of *labh*, 'to obtain,' with a privativum.

Pana=*punar*, 'again.'

Parato and *orato*, abl. sing. of *para*, 'further,' and *ora*, 'hither.'

Kalyāṇim and *Nāgadīpam*, acc. of direction. *Kalyāṇi* must be the modern Kaelani on the Kaelani Gāṅgā, about six miles from Colombo, where there is a celebrated Buddhist temple. *Nāgadīpa* is most probably identical with the *Naggadīpa* of the *Mahāvamsa* (p. 46), which island Vijaya is said to have touched on his way from Bengal to Ceylon, but nothing can be made out about the situation of this island.

Samuddatīram, acc. from *samudda*, 'the sea,' and *tīra*, 'the shore.'

Anuvicaranti, 3rd pers. pl. pres. of *anu*+*vi*+*car*, 'to wander along.'

Ayam, nom. sing. f. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Tāsam, gen. pl. f. of the demonstr. pronoun *ta*.

Dhammatā, 'occupation,' f. *ā*-stem.

Ekadivasam, from *eka*, 'one,' and *divasa*, 'day.' Acc. to denote time.

Pañcasatā, nom. pl. of *pañca*, 'five,' and *satam*, 'hundred.'

Nagarasamīpe, loc. of *nagara*, 'town,' and *samīpa*, 'neighbourhood.'

Uttarimsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist from *ut*+*tar*, 'to cross over.'

Gantvā, gerund from *gam*, 'to go.'

Ānetvā, see *netvā*, above.

Pakkhipitvā, gerund from *pra*+*kship*.

Jeṭṭhakayakkhinī, 'the chief or first Yakkhinī.'

Sesā, nom. pl. f. and *sese*, acc. pl. m. of *sesa*, 'other.'

Vāñje and *sāmike*, acc. pl.

Akamsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist from *kar*.

Rattibhāge, loc. to denote time.

Niddam, acc. of *niddā*, 'sleep,' to denote the direction, dependent from *gate*.

Gate, acc. pl. belongs to *vāñje*.

Uṭṭhāya, gerund from *ut* + *sthā*, 'to get up.'

Māretvā, gerund of the caus. of *mar*, means 'to kill.'

Āgacchati, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of *ā* + *gacch*.

Jeṭṭhakayakkhiniyā, gen. sing. dependent from *sarīram*.

Manussamamsam, acc. 'human flesh.'

Sītaḷam, neuter adjective.

Sarīram, nom. of a neuter *a*-stem.

Hoti, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of *bhū* or *hū*.

Parigaṇhanto, nom. sing. of a pres. participle, from *pari* + *grah*, 'to embrace.'

Tassā, gen. sing. f. demonstr. pronoun.

Yakkhinibhāvam, acc. 'quality of a Yakkhinī.'

Natvā, gerund from *jñā*, 'to know.'

Imā, nom. pl. f. demonstr. pronoun.

Bhavissanti, 3rd pers. pl. fut. of *bhū*.

Amhehi, dat. pl. pers. pronoun, 1st pers.

Palāyitum, inf. of *palāyati*, 'to flee.'

Vatṭati, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of *vart*, 'it behoves, it is right.'

Punadivase, l. of *puna*, 'again,' and *divasa*, 'day,' means, 'on the next day.'

Pāto = *prātar*, 'early.'

Va for *eva* with the initial *e* elided after a long vowel.

Mukhadhovanatthāya, compound of *mukha*, 'mouth,' *dhovana*,

‘washing,’ and *attha*, ‘purpose,’ the whole in the dat. to denote the intention.

Sesavāṇijānaṃ, gen. pl. used instead of the dat. dependent from *ārocesi*.

Ārocesi, 3rd pers. sing. aor. from *ā + ruc*, ‘to tell.’

Mānusiyo, nom. pl. of *mānusi*, the f. of *mānusa*, ‘man.’

Aññesaṃ, gen. pl. m. of *añña*, formed according to the pronominal inflexion.

Amhe, acc. pl. m. of the pers. pronoun, 1st pers.

Khādissanti, 3rd pers. pl. fut. of *khād*.

Etha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *i*, ‘to go.’

Amhe, nom. pl. m. of the pres. pronoun, 1st pers.

Palāyāma, 1st pers. pl. imp. of *palāyati*.

Tesu, loc. pl. m. demonstr. pronoun.

Adḍhateyyasatā = *ardhatṭṭiyaṣatāḥ*, literally, ‘the third hundred half,’ a very common way of expressing the number 250.

Etā, acc. pl. f. demonstr. pronoun.

Vijahitum, inf. of *vi + hā*, ‘to forsake.’

Sakkhissāma, 1st pers. pl. of *ṣak*, ‘to be able,’ with the double fut. suffix, see p. 119.

Tumhe, nom. pl. m. pers. pronoun, 2nd pers.

Gacchatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *gam*, ‘to go.’

Palāyissāma, 1st pers. pl. fut. of *palāyati*.

Āhaṃsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist of *ah*, ‘to say.’

Vacanakare, loc. sing. of *vacana + kara*.

Adḍhateyyasate, acc. pl.

Gahetvā, gerund of *grah*, ‘to take.’

Tāsaṃ, gen. pl. f. demonstr. pronoun.

Bhīto, past part. of *bhī*, ‘to fear.’

Palāyi, 3rd pers. sing. aor.

Tasmim, loc. sing. m. demonstr. pronoun.

Pana=punar, 'again.'

Bodhisatto, nom. sing.

Valâhassayoniyam, compound from *valâha*, 'cloud,' *assa*, 'horse,' and *yoni*, 'womb.' The whole stands in the loc. sing.

Nibbatti, 3rd pers. aor. of *nis* + *vart*, 'to be born.'

Sabbaseto=sarvaçveta, 'all white.'

Kâkasiso, literally, 'crow-headed.'

Muñjakeso, 'with hair like the *muñja*,' a certain sort of grass.

Iddhimâ=ṛiddhimant, nom. sing. of a stem in *ant*.

Vehâsaṃgamo, nom. sing. of *vehâsa*=vihâyasa, 'the open air,' in the acc. case, and *gama*, verbal adjective of *gam*, 'to go.'

So, nom. sing. in. of the demonstr. pronoun.

Himavantato, abl. sing. of *Himavanta*, 'the Himâlaya,' with suffix *to*.

Âkâse, loc. sing. of *âkâsa*, 'the sky.'

Uppatitvâ, gerund from *ud* + *pat*, 'to rise.'

Tambapaṇṇidîpam, acc. of direction.

Sare and *pallale*, are loc. sing. of *sara*=saras, 'the pond,' and *pallala*,=palvala, 'the pool.'

Sayamjâtasâlim, acc. sing. of *sayam*=svayam, 'self,' *jâta*, past part. from *jan*, 'to produce,' and *sâli*, 'rice.'

Janapadam, acc. of direction. *Janapada* is a compound from *jana*, 'people,' and *pada*, 'place.'

Gantukâmâ, nom. pl. of *gantu*, inf. of *gam*, 'to go,' and *kâma*, 'wishing.'

Atthi stands for the plural. The whole sentence is a question.

Tikkhattum=trishkṛitvas, numeral adverb, 'three times.'

Karuṇâya, instr. sing. of *karuṇâ*, 'mercy,' a fem. *â*-stem.

Paribhāvitam, acc. sing. f. of the past part. caus. of *pari*+*bhū*, 'to surround.'

Mānusiṇḍaṇḍam, acc. sing. of the f. of *mānusa*, 'human,' and *vāc*, 'speech.'

Bhāṣati, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of *bhāṣ*, 'to speak.'

Tassa, gen. sing. m. demonstr. pronoun.

Vacanam, acc. sing. of a neuter *a*-stem.

Sutvā, gerund of *ṣru*, 'to hear.'

Upasaṃkamitvā, gerund of *upa*+*saṃ*+*kram*, 'to approach.'

Añjalim, acc. sing. of a m. *i*-stem.

Paggayha, gerund of *pra*+*grah*, 'to stretch forth.'

Sāmi, voc. sing.

Gamissāma, 1st. pers. pl. fut. of *gam*.

Mayham, dat. instead of gen. sing. of the pers. pronoun, 1st pers.

Piṭṭhiṃ, acc. of *piṭṭhī*=*prishṭha*, 'back.'

Abhirūhatha, 2nd pers. pl. imp. of *abhi*+*ruh*, 'to ascend.'

Ekaṇṇe, nom. pl. of *ekacca*=*ekatya* (see above, p. 49), formed according to the pronominal inflexion.

Abhirūhimsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist of *abhi*+*ruh*.

Vāladhiṃ, acc. sing. of a m. *i*-stem.

Gaṇhimsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist of *grah*.

Aṭṭhamsu, 3rd pers. pl. aorist of *sthā*, 'to stand.'

Antamaso, abl. of the superlative *antama*, 'the last,' formed with the suffix *ṣas* (see p. 68).

Thito, acc. pl of *thita*, past. part. of *sthā*.

Anubhāvena, instr. sing. of a m. *a*-stem.

Sakasakaṭṭhānesu, compound from *saka*=*svaka*, 'own,' and *thāna*, 'place.' The repetition of *saka* is distributive.

Patitṭhāpetvā, gerund of the caus. of *prati*+*sthā*, 'to establish.'

Agamâsi, 3rd pers. sing. aorist of *gam*.

Tâpi=*tâ api*.

Kho=*khalu*, 'indeed.'

Aññesam, gen. pl. m. of *añña*, according to the pronominal inflexion.

Ohínake, acc. pl. of the past part. of *ava+há*, 'to forsake,' with the secondary suffix *ka*.

Vadhitvá, gerund of *vadh*, 'to kill.'

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